

THE *Blue*
JAPANESE CONQUEST
OF
AMERICAN OPINION

BY
MONTAVILLE FLOWERS, M.A.
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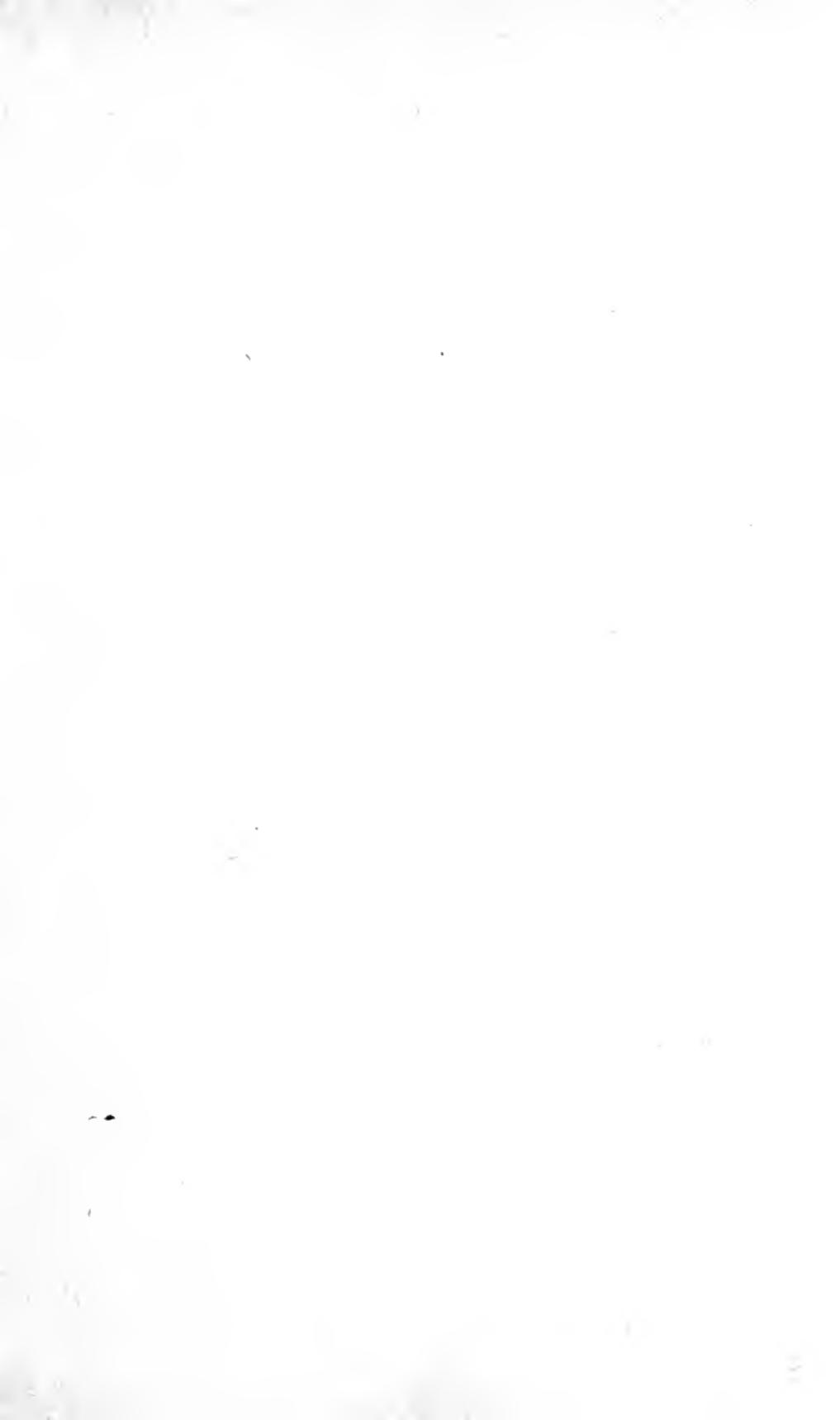
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DEDICATED
TO
THE BOYS AND GIRLS OF OUR
HIGH SCHOOLS
THE YOUNG MEN AND WOMEN OF OUR
COLLEGES
UPON WHOSE AMERICAN SPIRIT AND WHOSE KNOWLEDGE
OF THE GREAT WORLD PROBLEMS OF OUR TIME
DEPENDS THE PRESERVATION OF THE
PRECIOUS INHERITANCE OF
THE FOUNDERS AND BUILDERS
OF
THE REPUBLIC



PREFACE

“PEACE hath her victories no less renown’d than war.”

The weapon with which those victories are won in America is Public Opinion.

Japan is now trying to secure possession of that weapon.

The victories she would win with it are the removal of restrictions on immigration; the rights of naturalisation, American citizenship, and of intermarriage with the white race; the overthrow of all anti-Asiatic land legislation in western states; the rapid acquisition of those lands; and all that follows.

Shall the people of the United States vote to give the Japanese these rights? That is the question which this nation is being forced to decide. That is the problem this generation must solve.

On the affirmative of this question are the Japanese in America and all of Japan, a self-assertive people of tremendous energy driven by a fatalistic faith and a consciousness of racial superiority; assisted by large numbers of prominent Americans ecstatically visualising America as the Utopia of Universal Brotherhood; followed by an array of our countrymen, swept on by faith in the authors of this beautiful dream; all organised, active, powerful, using vast institutions especially adapted to spread and vitalise their propaganda.

On the other side is an opposition so unorganised, so mild, so impalpable that it seems not to exist at all, and gives evidence of its presence only by a subconscious uneasiness, warning the people that somewhere beneath

all this pro-Japanese campaign something is concealed that is wrong. During the three years in which I have been delivering addresses upon this problem, hundreds of Americans have said, "I have always felt that there are two sides to this problem, but I've seen only the Japanese propaganda. Where does this road end? Where can I get in full the story of the Pacific Coast and the American view so that I may reform my opinion and take a position upon it?"

To contribute to this need I shall begin at the beginning and tell the story of the Japanese Conquest of American Opinion so far as it has proceeded. Truly the discussion from the Japanese standpoint has been voluminous enough by both the Japanese and their American supporters. The volumes by Sidney L. Gulick, adroit, wholly pro-Japanese, highly indorsed, widely distributed; books and articles by Kawakami and Iyenaga, of surpassing finesse, typical products of the Oriental mind; "The Japanese Problem," by H. A. Millis, prepared to order as a brief for the pro-Japanese campaign; "Japan to America" and "America to Japan," two volumes by the Japan Society of New York, with its founders decorated by the Mikado; the ceaseless labour and wide scattering of propaganda by that Society; the continuous output of the Japanese Press Bureaus and their agents established in our country; the regular contributions by Hamilton Wright Mabie, Hamilton Holt, and their confreres in their weekly magazines and their addresses; the unmeasured power of money and influence of great peace societies and the Federal Council of Churches spreading farther still these books and pamphlets, and publishing thousands more; the hundreds and thousands of sermons made upon the requests of these agencies, interpreting a dream world of hopes into arguments for fatal experiments; all these have challenged those Americans to speak who are not bound

by self-interest, or moved by a metaphysical conception of an ideal state that never had and never can have a translation into fact.

Signed,

MONTAVILLE FLOWERS.

Monrovia, California.

September 1, 1916.

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PART I

THE JAPANESE PROBLEM

"The Greatest Problem of the age and of ages to come is that resulting from contact between East and West."—From *Asia at the Door*, by K. K. Kawakami.¹

¹*Asia at the Door*—a book pleading for Japanese immigration and citizenship and the privilege of intermarriage with the white race in the United States, by K. K. Kawakami, of San Francisco, head of one of the Japanese Press Bureaus.

CHAPTER I

THE GENESIS AND SCOPE OF THE PROBLEM

THE Japanese question is not local. It is not merely a California problem or a Pacific Coast problem. It is national and vital to all the people of the United States, it is universal wherever white men dwell and Japanese ships may anchor. Why has opposition to the advances of Japanese in the last few years expressed itself in State Constitutions and State laws by overwhelming majorities in the most progressive States? Why in the far more restrictive measures of the growing countries, Australia, Canada, New Zealand? What answer shall the United States give to the insistent knocking of Asia at the door? What will ensue if we open the door, and what may if we do not?

To answer these questions we must review the history of the Japanese controversies in the United States; we must compare this Japanese migration with like movements of the peoples of the past; we must study racial intermingling and race mixture; we shall require aid of the sciences of heredity, biology, ethnology, sociology and economics; we shall be obliged to interpret anew the persistent laws of human nature and the souls of races. The solution of this problem cannot end in mere transcendental theory—but it must be found in action pregnant with destiny; for the answer will determine the future character of our people; the form and substance of our civilisation; the length of our national life. Let us set ourselves to the problem which finds its genesis in the State of California.

We are accustomed to speak of the Japanese Problem as "The Japanese Problem in California" because, of the 95,000 Japanese in the United States, 65,000 live in California. This is because this State is the first land the Oriental touches as he brings in the tide of emigration from Asia; it is here that climatic conditions, products and industries resemble those of his own country, and it is here that a Japanese commission, recently sent to America, reported that a Japanese can make twice as much money as in any other state in the world.

These three reasons—geographical, climatic, and economic—are the great forces that have always set nations and races to moving.

The word "California," then, is a mere accident connected with that tract of land and those conditions where Occident and Orient were destined to meet under the great movements of the twentieth century.¹ It is the picket line of the American continent flung out against the arriving hosts from Asia which formerly directed their courses westward across the land and many times overswept Europe, but which now, under changed conditions, have turned in the opposite direction.

In the spring of 1913 this peaceful and hospitable state suddenly became the target for epithets from the people

¹ The ultimate point in dispute does not affect the United States alone, still less the State of California. It is essentially a world Problem. That Japan's claim should first have become an acute cause of trouble in California is due to the accident of propinquity. California is now the frontier line of white races beyond which are the teeming populations of Asia. No useful purpose will be served by blind condemnation of the tendencies of public opinion in Western States. They spring not so much from race hatred as from the instinct of self-preservation, and even if the present minor dispute is disposed of, they will assuredly recur. It is an issue that will become more and more insistent whatever may be settled now, and it will have to receive the earnest attention of all white races in time to come.—Editor of *The Times*, London, England.

and the press of her sister states. Editors, ministers, reporters, the street corner disputant, began an assault upon her which, though slightly softened now, has left so deep an impression, and has developed so high an inertia that the campaign of which she is the innocent battle-ground, is still ascendant. The picket had done his duty, that was all, and the inevitable conflict of interests between Occident and Orient again was on.

The point at issue in the Japanese problem was then, and, as it lies before the governments of the two nations, is now: Shall the Japanese, who are not citizens of the United States, and cannot become citizens, shall they have the right to own agricultural land¹ in the State of California and hence in any American state? While the word "agricultural" does not appear on the face of the dispute, except in two or three state papers, it was that kind of land that was in dispute, and it is the farmers, who still form fifty-two per cent. of all the American people and a great per cent. of Western people, who required the State to act.

I hope now to set in simple array the facts bearing upon this problem, to interpret the position which the people of Western States have taken upon it, to trace the experiences and the mental processes by which they arrived at that position, to indicate the surging forces back of it all, and above all to show every American State and every American citizen the vital relation which he bears to the present status of this problem.

¹ In his first reply to the protest of Japan our Secretary of State, W. J. Bryan, said, "I have the honour to acknowledge receipt of your note of May 9th, with regard to the law just adopted by the State of California concerning the holding of agricultural lands by aliens . . . It is based upon the particular economic conditions existing in California as interpreted by her own people who wish to avoid certain conditions of competition in their agricultural activities."

CHAPTER II

RELATION OF JAPAN TO THE PROBLEM

THE first Japanese to come into the United States were a band of forty who came into California in 1869, a full half generation after Commodore Perry had opened the doors of the exclusive land. For nearly two hundred and fifty years before that no foreign ship was allowed to anchor in Japanese harbours, nor foreign foot to touch her shores except on one little island near Nagasaki where Dutch traders were allowed to come and hasten away once a year.

Thus the Japanese were slow to leave their own land and come into ours; for, nine years later, in 1878, there were here but one hundred and twenty; ten years later, in 1888, there were about one thousand; ten years later, in 1898, there were thirteen thousand; eight years later, in 1906, their number had suddenly risen to seventy-five thousand on the continent and about eighty thousand in the Hawaii Islands. And we then discovered that we had in the United States a Japanese Problem.

In every discussion of this Problem you must, first of all, bear in your mind that the Japanese are and always have been aliens who cannot become citizens of the United States. They have been given rights of residence and trade, but never the right to vote, and so they cannot participate in our government. This status of theirs, which they now seek to remove, was long since fixed, without any demur from Japan, by the naturalisation laws and the Court decisions of the United States.

“It is among the most essential powers of the sover-

eighty of nations, that each may fix the terms and conditions of citizenship, and that right has never been in dispute among nations. Nor is it necessary for any nation to explain to all the others why it makes those conditions as they are.

"It is the attribute of sovereignty of any nation to exclude from its borders any citizen or citizens of any other nation in the world. It has the right to admit the citizens of a friendly nation, and to deny admission to the citizens of an unfriendly nation. It has the right to decide for itself whether it is for the best interests of its people to admit a certain race of people or not.

"The Supreme Court of the United States has decided in numerous cases that it is the inherent sovereign right of any nation to exclude from its borders any race of people that cannot be assimilated; to make such discriminations as it sees fit and proper; and that no immigrant from such foreign nation has any right to complain, because the laws of the country require them to be transported whence they came.

"Members of Congress certainly will not disagree with me in the conclusion that we should in our sovereign capacity as a people permit the people of the states to determine who their friends and associates shall be."¹

A striking instance of the exercise of this right to preserve material interests is furnished by the Government of Canada in a very recent order restraining immigration as follows: "His Royal Highness, the Governor General . . . in view of the present overcrowded condition of the labour market in the Province of British Columbia, is pleased to order and it is hereby ordered as follows: From and after the first day of October, 1915, and until after the thirty-first day of March, 1916, the landing at any port of entry in British Columbia hereinafter specified

¹ Congressman Sisson in House of Representatives, April 28, 1913.

of any immigrant of any of the following classes or occupations—viz. : Artisans ; Labourers, skilled and unskilled, shall be, and the same is hereby prohibited.” And forty-four ports of entry are named. This order shows absolute power to discriminate against a certain class in certain territory for a specific time. No nation has complained against it.

The last and highest authority to be heard on this principle is the American Institute of International Law, which convened in Washington in January, 1916. It is Pan-American, representing the twenty-one republics of the western hemisphere. Each republic sends from its own National Society of International Law five of its most eminent legal authorities, and the one hundred and five men thus selected represent the highest legal thought of all the Americas. The United States was represented by five men, including the Acting Secretary of State, and two ex-Secretaries of State.¹

The American Institute of International Law, after careful conferences of many weeks, made a “Declaration of the Rights of Nations.”

Five great fundamental rights were proclaimed. The first is, “Every nation has a right to exist and to protect and conserve its existence.” The Institute adopted that as the cornerstone of International Law, and to interpret it they adopted the following clear and forceful language of the Supreme Court of the United States from its decision on the Chinese Exclusion Act :

“To preserve its independence, and give security against foreign aggression and encroachment, is the highest duty of every nation, and to attain these ends nearly all other

¹The representatives of the United States were Robert Lansing, Elihu Root, Robert Bacon, Leo S. Rowe and James Brown Scott. Elihu Root is Honorary President and James Brown Scott is President of the body.

considerations are to be subordinated. It matters not in what form such aggression and encroachment come, whether from the foreign nation acting in its national character or from vast hordes of its people crowding in upon us. The government, possessing the powers which are to be exercised for protection and security, is clothed with authority to determine the occasion on which the powers shall be called forth."

California has acted fully within that principle. She is assailed for passing the law of 1913 because "there were no vast hordes of Asiatics coming to her shores;" but she was equally assailed for her action in 1906 when there were such hordes coming. Such criticism is a mere subterfuge to hide the main purpose of the critic.

The United States, therefore, without being held to the charge of discrimination, without being required to make any explanation to anyone, had full rights to exclude Asiatics from citizenship, and from the very beginning of our history had done so. The people of California, when they acted upon that fact, had no more to do with establishing it than had the other forty-seven commonwealths of the nation.¹

In the second place you must bear in mind that, taking this cue from the nation, California was acting on an old and established policy. Very early in her history, with the far vision of a prophet, she made it a fundamental principle of the State government forever to discourage all aliens who could never become American citizens from entering her borders; when she revised her Constitution a

¹Judge H. A. M. Smith, of the Federal Court, Eastern District of South Carolina, says, "The grant of the privilege of citizenship is purely discretionary with the people of the country, it is entirely distinct from admitting to entry and residence. It carries with it great powers of good and evil in the exercise of the ballot, and the great responsibility of the ballot box. It is no humiliation for an alien to be excluded from a privilege not a right."

generation ago, she laid down one of the greatest principles ever put into a governmental document when she wrote into her charter these remarkable words: "The presence of foreigners who may not become citizens of the United States is dangerous to the well-being of the State, and the legislature shall discourage the immigration of all such aliens by all means within its powers." This is only a clear statement of old English Law and Custom.

Every Japanese now in California has come in while that provision has been in her Constitution. Japan has always known it to be there, and her present agitation is the conscious and direct attempt of a foreign nation to overthrow the fundamental laws of American states (for other states have similar provisions in their laws), and to force in America a new interpretation of the relation of the nation to the states. Japan wishes either to impeach the sovereignty of our Government or radically to change the relative powers established by the Constitution between the nation and the states.

When these Japanese first arrived upon our shores, they were as peaceable and as amicable as any immigrant, and their home government in Japan readily accepted the treatment America accorded them. But as they increased in numbers, and especially as their country rose in the rank of nations, their attitude became insistent—almost commanding. In this change of front they were backed up by their Emperor with a diplomacy surprisingly aggressive and decisive.

CHAPTER III

THE FIRST CONFLICT, 1906

THE SCHOOL QUESTION; A MORAL VICTORY FOR JAPAN

OUR first sharp conflict with Japan came in 1906. Now in 1906 Japan's status had not been changed in America, but in 1906 Japan had completed a wonderful series of world aggressions. Within eleven years, 1894-1905, she had found cause for a war with China,¹ and by sudden attack had completely defeated that astonished and unprepared country. She had at last realized her national ambition of adding the great Island of Formosa to her kingdom, extending it far to the south. She had at last entrenched herself upon the mainland of the continent of Asia. She had gradually assumed control of Korea, and she had just whipped Russia! It was then, when Japan, swollen with pride, and conscious of the power of conquest, announced herself as a World Empire, that the Japanese in the United States, although not citizens, began to demand all the rights and privileges of citizens; and it was then that we discovered we have in the United States an *acute* Japanese Problem.

The issue upon which Japan threw down the gauntlet to American self-government was in regard to the use of

¹At the International Peace Congress held in San Francisco on October 11, 1915, Dr. Ng. Poon Chew, a Chinese educator and editor, told the Congress: "Japan is the disturber of the peace of the Orient. She is essentially a military nation and she has in herself the perfect combination of the militarism of Germany and the navyism of England. Her ambition is boundless."

the public schools. The Japanese were beginning to use the public schools of the State. In San Francisco especially there were a number of Japanese boys who were thought to be beyond school age; it is difficult to tell the age of a Japanese boy or man, and we had learned from experience that we could not take their word for it. The parents of white children—especially of girls in the adolescent period—began to feel that these men should be excluded from the public schools altogether, just as we do our own men beyond school age; and thereafter, to end all discussion of age and of the school problem, that we should educate all young Japanese at public expense, but in separate schools. The Japanese at once resented this as racial discrimination. They asserted boldly that their children must have every privilege possessed by any child upon American soil, and any attempt upon our part to segregate them would be considered an insult by the Government of the United States to the national honour of the Empire of Japan!

No one will understand the Japanese problem on the Pacific Coast now until he knows and feels the surprising attitude and spirit of the Japanese at that time. Some idea of this spirit may be had from the following Japanese expressions of hate and challenge to fight. It was a shock and a surprise to the people of the State for the Japanese at once to cry out, "Let us fight." The following extracts are taken from the official report on the school trouble submitted to Congress by Secretary of War Metcalf, November 26, 1906.

"OUR NATIONAL DIGNITY ASSAILED. TO ARMS, MY COUNTRYMEN!"

"Patriotism demands the maintenance of our dignity pure and unassailed. And every loyal Japanese must arm

himself presently with the weapon of righteousness,¹ in order to repel the assaults of the defamers.

“The question is no longer confined to a handful of school children; it has assumed international proportions. We doubt not for a moment that every resident Japanese, backed by the sympathetic outburst at home, will participate in the struggle with that vigour and tenacity which have won for us the heights of Nshan and the impregnable redoubts of 208-Meter Hill.”—*The Japanese American*, San Francisco, October 25, 1906.

The following pertains to one of the general mass meetings of Japanese that were held in San Francisco:

“THE GENERAL MASS MEETING

“What manner of meeting is this? It is the ebullition of 70,000 dauntless heroes that hail from the blessed land of Yamato, burning with the fire of indignation, and clamouring for instant retaliation.”—From *The New World*, October 25, 1906.

It is just as important to present the positions of the American press at the same time. The difference in temper is noteworthy.

“NO DISCRIMINATION.

“There is no discrimination. The segregation of Japanese students in one school is a police regulation due to the fact that they are not children in the true sense. As a rule they range in years from fifteen to twenty-five. It is not fit that they should be permitted to associate with children of average school age, and it will not be permitted.”—*San Francisco Call*, November 13, 1906.

¹This evidently refers to the double swords of the Samurai.

I ask a careful reading of the following as an explanation of the action taken at that time:

“OUR JAPANESE COLONY—HAWAII ALREADY DOMINATED BY AN ASIATIC CIVILISATION

“Out of 154,000 inhabitants found in the Hawaiian Islands in 1900 but 28,819 were Caucasians. There were 86,728 Asiatics, of whom 61,111 were Japanese. The remainder were of the perishing island races. Of the male population over 18 years of age, 63,444 were Asiatics, out of a total of 85,136, and of these, 43,753 were Japanese. From 1900 to 1905 the arrivals of aliens in the islands were 48,086 Asiatics and 1,726 of all other nationalities. Of the Asiatics, 38,029 were Japanese. The departures of Asiatics, however, during that period exceeded the arrivals by 4,421, and the departures of Japanese exceeded the arrivals by 4,284. Of the 42,313 Japanese who left Hawaii between June 30, 1900, and December 31, 1905, an unknown number—larger than 20,641—came to the Pacific Coast. For all practical purposes Hawaii is to-day a Japanese colony.

“What we are fighting for on this Coast is that California and Oregon and Washington shall not become what the Territory of Hawaii now is. If the Japanese are permitted to come here freely nothing can prevent that except revolution and massacre, which would be certain. No words can describe the intensity of hatred with which the white mechanics and small merchants of Hawaii regard the Japanese, who have taken their work from them by doing it at prices for which they cannot do it except by accepting the Japanese standard of life. Our workingmen hate the Japanese because they fear they will supplant them. The Hawaiian workingmen hate them because they have already been supplanted. Being but a small minority of the population the whites of Hawaii

cannot help themselves. The white men of the Pacific Coast are determined that the Orientals shall never be enabled to do here that which they have already accomplished in Hawaii. It will be prevented by whatever measures are found necessary.

“What we are now endeavouring to do is to prevent it by such wise action on the part of our own and the Japanese Government as shall keep the races apart. Just now our race feeling has shown itself in the provision that the children of the races shall be kept separate in the schools. It is said that the Japanese will contest it in the courts, and, if defeated there, will make it an international question! We trust they will not do so. It would be found that there is no power on earth which could compel the people of this State to tax themselves against their will to educate aliens whom we do not want here at all. To attempt to enforce the coeducation of the races in the face of the determined opposition of those who pay the bills would be inhuman, for it would result in scenes which we trust we may never witness. The example of Hawaii should be sufficient to assure the early passage of an exclusion act.”—*The San Francisco Chronicle*, November 11, 1906.

But the Japanese Emperor did not hesitate at once to back up with sharp and threatening vigour the demands of his subjects in our land. He instructed his Ambassador at Washington to thwart the people of California by an appeal to the national government.

The appeal was made. The nation was alarmed. Japan had a navy fresh from victory and two millions of soldiers who had just laid Russia in the dust. The foolish partisanship shown Japan by Americans during that war was active still. The essayists of the eastern states had their day. California, although acting upon a matter

entirely within her own jurisdiction and entirely out of the national jurisdiction, yielded to the representations from Washington with a spirit of sweet obedience to the claims of national welfare. After the most difficult and delicate diplomacy, delicate, mark you, for in no detail must Japan's feelings be hurt, an international agreement was reached upon the question.

This agreement set forth that Japan would be allowed her whole contention in regard to the use of the public schools of California (and, of course it follows, of every state of the Union); and, in return for this surrender on the part of the United States, Japan agreed to limit the number of her labourers to whom thereafter she would give passports to leave home and come to the United States.

This agreement is now known as the Gentleman's Agreement of 1907.

This settlement of the first conflict with the Japanese Government was a great moral victory for Japan. She had learned two things. First, that she could stop and overturn the people of one state by an appeal to the United States. She learned better than we ourselves have learned that this country is vast and not homogeneous; that the masses of the East are strangely ignorant of the West and supercilious in their opinion of it; that a small section in and east of the Alleghenies and north of Virginia contains that density and leadership of our population which determine vital foreign policies; that it is a financial area—soft, easily alarmed and fearful of disturbance; that withal a foreign nation may more easily carry any point, if this or any other ponderous section can be convinced that its material interests are being jeopardized by another section; and that although the national Constitution grants the states apparent latitude in all matters of schools, marriage, land and inheritance, nevertheless, the

National Government, when once it rules on any of these questions, enforces its rulings upon the state with an insistence not a whit less than that of the most despotic power.

And secondly, Japan learned that the United States would submit to international settlement an internal problem wholly within the province of America alone to decide.

You will see how quickly she made use of these two great advances in her diplomacy at the very next opportunity.

Much fine scorn has been expressed by the Japanese and their American supporters against those who claim that the Japanese are weak in the faithful execution of contract. Sidney L. Gulick and Kawakami use many pages of their respective books to bury that charge in ridicule, and then many more in an attempt to disguise and explain the fact away. But among those who know them the feeling is deep and universal that the sense of honour which holds the American to his bargain, win or lose, is not perceived by the Japanese mind as we have come in contact with it in this country. Recent experiences in great international struggles have fully justified that conclusion.

If his bargain develops in his favour, he wishes to keep it and of course he expects you to keep it, and he comes to you with that splendid smile which always captures the uninitiated, and says,—“Sure, American man will not break his word with Japanese.” But if his contract proves a loss to him, he does not want to continue it; he sees no reason in the world why anyone should be held to a losing contract, and with the same smile he says to you,—“Sure, American Christian man will not make Japanese lose just so American man get too much,” and so he breaks his bargain in absolute conscience with himself.

Treaties are but contracts between nations, and national character, like a composite photograph wherein a hundred faces are impressed in one face, is but a composite of the individual characters that compose it. This facility of the individual to use or misuse a contract to advantage is exercised when Japan interprets her international bargains, as has been so boldly demonstrated in her rape of China since the World War began.

So, also, is it exercised in the interpretation of the "Gentleman's Agreement." Remember, it applies only to labourers. All students, merchants, teachers, and professional men were not to be denied passports, nor have they been, and the statements to the contrary have no basis in fact. But Japan agreed to deny passports to all labourers except to three classes and to these she would grant them as follows:

1. To any labourer who had once been in America and wished to return.
2. To the parents, wives, and children of labourers in America.
3. To any labourer who had secured title to land in America and wished to go to possess it.

Now that second provision is not only broad and humane, such as we expect of unsuspecting America, but it is absolutely clean cut. No one but the keen Oriental would have made, in so simple a provision, a way to greatly increase their number in this country, or to make out of full-blooded Japanese, ineligible to citizenship, full citizens of the United States. But the Japanese have no difficulty whatever in construing that provision to that end. How do they do it?

The Japanese who had come to the United States prior to 1907 were nearly all young and unmarried men. But they have found a way to have wives in Japan even though they had left none there when they left Japan.

The Japanese has his photograph made. He sends this to his friends or parents in Japan. These friends secure a Japanese woman who will marry the man in the picture and come to the United States. The Japanese forms of the marriage ceremony between the bride and the picture seem thus duly discharged. Then the man in the picture has a wife in Japan and she secures a passport under the second clause of the "Gentleman's Agreement!" This looks like comedy. This also looks like humanity, "for who," says Gulick, "would have these Japanese in America live singly all their lives?" It did not occur to him that it is a rank violation of the spirit and intent of the treaty, for in this way the Japanese in California are rapidly increasing their number. The boat that brought seventeen girls into the land to go to Europe as Red Cross nurses, who received so much Eastern acclaim, also brought seventy picture brides who remained in California, with no acclaim. Thus they can double their number and in a few years the children of these prolific young marriages will double it again, and quadruple it. And those children born on American soil are by our Court decisions full-privileged citizens of the United States. And at the same time these children, as well as their parents, are citizens of Japan, subject to her Emperor.

Since this was written a "Nationality Option Bill" has been passed by the Japanese Lower Chamber and has been approved by the House of Peers. It will not be operative until promulgated by Imperial Decree. As in the case of the land law of 1910 granting to aliens the rights to own land in Japan that decree may never be issued and the law as passed will remain merely a good intention.

Heretofore Japanese have sometimes claimed that their national law permitted them to expatriate themselves; but that law was rendered inoperative by the requirement that

every Japanese, even though he should be naturalised by another nation, if he had not already served his term in the Japanese army, was subject to the call of Japan and he was obliged to respond no matter in what country he happened to be. Thus Japan has in no way released its legal hold on male Japanese living in foreign lands. This new law apparently retains that power.

But Japan also has claimed that all children born of Japanese anywhere in the world were as much subject to her as if they had been born in Japan. The new law, if it is made effective by Imperial Decree, will give such foreign-born Japanese children the right to declare at the age of fifteen whether they wish to remain Japanese or become citizens of the land they live in, and the Minister of State for Home Affairs for Japan can grant or withhold that right. The press of Japan affirms that this act is an outgrowth of the land legislation of California and in part overcomes the impediments to Japanese set up by that law.

The Japanese government, therefore, and its subjects in California saw in the Gentleman's Agreement of 1907 no serious impediment in the long campaign they had already laid down. They had set up a goal at the end of that campaign. They did not announce to America then what that goal was, but to the goal they made steady advance. They could wait and wait again. All they needed to do was to take a new tack, and they took it.

That tack expressed itself in the acquisition of agricultural land by deed and lease. Five years after the Gentleman's Agreement was made the farmers of California discovered that in those five years the number of deeds the Japanese had registered had increased nearly fifty per cent., the number of leases nearly ninety per cent., the total acreage used by them nearly sixty-six and two-thirds per cent., and it was the choicest acreage of the state.

The statements that all this land had lain waste and

was redeemed and developed by the Japanese, if true, would not alter the contention at all; but they are false. In the main this land is in the fully populated areas and has long been under cultivation. The statements of the comparative area the Japanese hold in relation to all the acreage of this vast state, which is always the first material argument of the theorist, are all foolish and misleading in view of the vast areas of mountains, deserts and boulder wastes, which embrace a large part of the State, and make its tillable acreage, and especially the kind the Japanese are most eager to control, very small in proportion to the size of the State. Both of these arguments are superficial and wholly ignore both the facts and the profound principles which are at issue.

Resistance to this aggression upon their lands began to fill the minds of the farmers of California; and who are the farmers of California? They are American citizens who have come into that State out of every northern and out of every southern state. We have 90,000 people who were born on the soil of Illinois; 80,000 born in New York; 68,000 born in Missouri; 67,000 born in New England; 66,000 born in Ohio; 55,000 born in Iowa; 51,000 born in Pennsylvania; 41,000 born in Indiana; 35,000 born in Kansas; 35,000 born in Michigan; 30,000 born in Massachusetts; 30,000 born in Wisconsin; 20,000 born in Texas; 20,000 born in Kentucky, and so on until all American states are there. There is no county where fewer than twenty states are represented; in some counties all the states are largely represented. These are the free and independent spirits of these states, hearts brave enough to venture, minds open to see and think. The West is the virile East,—men like Columbus and Drake, like Humboldt and Gordon, like Washington and Houston, surveying, subduing a new land, that the fearful may follow at ease.

And the group of Pacific Coast states is the most intelligent group of states in the Union. The United States Census shows that the rate of illiteracy for the whole nation is 7.7 per cent.; of the Middle Atlantic States (New York, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, etc.) it is 5.7 per cent.; of New England, 5.3 per cent.; of the Pacific Coast group it is only 3 per cent., the lowest of all and only 40 per cent. of the average illiteracy of the Nation.

Of the native white population, alone, the illiteracy for the United States is 3.7 per cent.; for the Pacific Coast it is only four tenths of 1 per cent., which is but one-ninth of that of the United States and but one-half that of New York or New England.

In this Pacific group, California as a State, taken on every count exhibited by the United States census, is shown to have the highest intelligence of any state in the Union.

In our representative capacity, therefore, in our ability to voice American sentiment and to try an American cause, we are the most competent jury in any American state, and nowhere else since the world began has the white race from all lands assembled in equal number so intelligent, so varied, so liberal a group.

In the spring of 1912 these people perceived the ultimate end of this silent steady aggression upon their lands; they saw the principles at stake and they determined to meet this new problem and to meet it with a little more decision than they had shown in the school question. And that is the Second Conflict with Japan.

CHAPTER IV

THE SECOND CONFLICT, 1913

WHO SHALL OWN THE PACIFIC COAST?

WHEN Woodrow Wilson, President of the United States, came into California to campaign for his nomination, he found the people more interested in passing a law to prevent the further purchase of land by Asiatics than in the nomination of a President. It was necessary for him to declare himself in principle on that subject and the declaration he then made secured him more votes from the other parties than all other influences combined. For on May 3, 1912, he declared in California, "In the matter of Chinese and Japanese coolie immigration, I stand for the national policy of exclusion. The whole question is one of assimilation of diverse races. We can not make a homogeneous population of a people who do not blend with the Caucasian race. Their lower standard of living as labourers will crowd out the white agriculturist and is in other fields a most serious industrial menace. The success of free democratic institutions demands of our people education, intelligence, and patriotism, and the State should protect them against unjust and impossible competition.

"Remunerative labour is the basis of contentment. Democracy rests on the equality of the citizen. Oriental coolieism will give us another race problem to solve and surely we have had our lesson."

Surely that was clear.

The Democratic State platform then followed with this plank, "We demand immediate Federal legislation for the

exclusion of Japanese, Korean and Hindoo labourers," and pledged their candidates to the enactment of a bill that would prevent any alien not eligible to American citizenship from owning land in the State of California.

One hundred thousand cards were distributed over the State that fall bearing these two ringing declarations of the President and his party. Many candidates for the legislature, of every party, declared themselves on that law and their campaigns were made upon it.

The legislature elected has been the subject of so much abuse, it has been called prejudiced, ignorant, and barbarian so often that we must study it a moment before reviewing its action. I secured the official Blue Books of all the states that have them and I have studied the personnel of their legislatures for comparison. None presents a personnel surpassing and, so far as I can see, few equalling that of California.

Of eighty members of the House of Representatives in the state, forty were natives of California, and forty came from sixteen other states and two foreign countries; Illinois furnished seven, Missouri six, Pennsylvania four, New York three, Iowa three, etc., Ireland two. Canada one. Sixty-two of them, or over seventy-five per cent., had a high school education; fifty of them, or sixty-two and a half per cent., had a college education (thirty-four had college degrees); representing attendance at thirty-three different colleges in the United States and abroad, so far as I was able to ascertain. Twenty-five of them were lawyers; the others represented thirteen other vocations, farmers, merchants, bankers, etc., and they had averaged four and a half years each of service in public office.

Of forty senators, twenty were natives of California and twenty came from six other states and two foreign countries. New York furnished five; Illinois, three;

Iowa, three; Missouri, three; etc. England, two and Canada two. Twenty-eight of them or seventy per cent. had a high school education, twenty-four or sixty per cent. had a college education representing attendance at fifteen different colleges in the United States and abroad as far as recorded. Sixteen of them were lawyers and eleven other vocations were represented. They had averaged nine and a half years each of service in public office.

Such was the personnel of the legislature which met to consider the great problem of Asia and to pass a new land law.

This discussion through the long Presidential campaign of 1912 gave the Japanese ample warning and ample time to prepare their campaign against the enactment of such a law and it did not surprise us who know them to find them ready for a nation-wide campaign against us the moment the bill was introduced. Their own government was ready and all the literary guns they could array in eastern states were unlimbered with caissons full.

We have a divided session of the legislature. We meet in January and for thirty days introduce bills but pass none. Then we adjourn for a month while the people review the acts proposed. The Japanese knew exactly then what they must combat when on March first began the session when bills might be passed.

A number of bills, representing the fulfilment of campaign pledges of various candidates, were introduced pertaining to rights of Asiatics, particularly regarding land ownership. Most of them avoided direct discrimination against any nation and all that did not were quickly eliminated until the whole thought was to protect the American farmer against the alien ownership of his land either by aliens acting as individuals or as corporations. We did not propose to violate any treaty, as we have been so

fluently but falsely accused, or to provoke international complications. We did propose to stand squarely upon our rights under the Constitution, to preserve our land for American citizens and to be guided in doing so by precedents set by the United States government itself and by the governments of other states where similar action had already been taken.

By the first of March the conflict grew sharp. The Japanese Government, presenting a new spectacle in American history, the spectacle of a foreign power coming within the boundaries of a state and a nation to campaign against its citizens and their laws for its own aggrandisement; the Japanese Government coming out in the full open leadership of her subjects, remembering her success in the school question and profiting by her preparation of many months, once more began her representations at Washington and her sentiment making throughout all the other states. She succeeded. Within thirty days, from every quarter arose a cloud of comment upon the State of California; the thunders of adverse criticism reverberated from sea to sea. In thirty days more, Washington again had been reached and moved and the President of the United States had dispatched the Secretary of State across the continent to persuade a legislature against the enactment of a law which, upon his arrival, he admitted lay clearly within her power to enact, which his party had pledged itself to enact, and which the President had countenanced fully a year before.

The people, the legislature and the Governor received Mr. Bryan with courtesy and good will and paused to know the serious import of his coming. However serious it might be, for our part we knew it was the best thing that could happen to us, or to all America; for it fixed the volatile attention of the American mind, if there be now such a thing as the American mind, upon the fact

that there is a Japanese Problem in the United States and that it is not a State but a National Problem. So our Governor received him as a friend and made him his guest in his household. We placed at his disposal every resource of information. We took him right out into the country that he might see the conditions we were trying to prevent—communities which a few years ago were wholly white, now mostly Japanese. We took him into school houses where Japanese children outnumbered the white and into towns with sections as wholly Japanese as if they were in Japan.

These concrete facts and conditions which such men as Gulick, Millis, Holt and Kawakami dare not deny, they obscure with comparisons, cover with argument and belittle with scorn. We have never claimed that the Japanese already owned the State in large part; it is just that which we are hoping to make impossible. They owned enough. They had lived in our midst long enough, numerously enough and concentratedly enough to establish with us the truth of the declaration of President Wilson that they “will drive out the white agriculturist and are in other fields a most serious industrial menace.” The logical conclusion of such arguments against our course is that we should have waited until the Japanese holdings were large enough to imperil the whole American ownership of the State and the American labour of the State, and then we should have acted to retrieve our losses. Foresight, judicious action removing evil when it first appears—these are the attributes of good citizenship and they distinguish the statesman from the academician, the opportunist, the “believer” and “hoper.” If at that time these sentimental theorists had not fallen under the wand of Oriental subtlety and had not joined Japan against us; if they had supported American interests then, Japan would have found her

aggression without hope in the land and the whole conflict would now be settled instead of being, through American influence, complicated and enlarged by great new demands.

Before Mr. Bryan had returned to Washington, the President had asked us to delay until he could present the revised bill to the Japanese Government. We delayed long enough for that to be done. Again the Japanese Government protested, and then we passed an Anti-Alien Land Bill with this vote: Of thirty-seven senators, thirty-five voted for it and but two against it; of seventy-five representatives, seventy-two voted for it and but three against it. Thus once in American politics, without regard to party, a whole state joined in the expression of a common verdict, a verdict reached after forty years of experiment, after a long trial and full argument, against the most tremendous national and international forces ever brought against a state; a verdict rendered by a population representing every state in the Union and equal in number to the whole thirteen original Colonies in 1776.

CHAPTER V

WHERE TWO RACES MEET

THE LAND LAW

AND now what is this Bill?

For every American must pass, and that soon, upon the principle of this law. There isn't a school boy who has ever played a game of marbles who does not know enough to know that if Japan can so discredit California in the estimation of the country as to bring the country to break down that law in California, she will have it broken down in all the American States! If we in California have arrived at the time when we may no longer determine who may and who may not own our soil, then you in Maine and Ohio and Virginia and Michigan have arrived at the same time when you can no longer control the ownership of your soil. It is a national, a universal problem.

The Bill pivots on the laws of the United States regarding aliens, that is, all those people who are born under and belong to foreign governments. The laws of the nation long ago divided aliens into two classes: Those to whom it has chosen to confer the rights of citizenship, aliens eligible to citizenship; and those to whom it has denied this right, aliens ineligible to citizenship. The right and power to make these distinctions without explanation or apology to anyone, as we have shown, is the attribute of sovereignty in governments and never before has it been challenged or assailed from without.

Section I. of the Bill is as follows: "All aliens eligible to citizenship under the laws of the United States may acquire, possess, enjoy, transfer, and inherit real property or any interest therein in this State in the same manner and to the same extent as citizens of the United States."

The brain of man cannot devise a more liberal provision. It is far more liberal than the laws of many other states in which conditions and procedures are laid down for aliens who have not been naturalised before they may acquire land. We shall find some day, as the world war demonstrates, that this provision is too easy and too liberal, for by it citizens of other lands may control large areas of our State, having, besides all the benefits of our own liberties and protections, all the advantages of meddlesome interference in time of stress that come from foreign diplomacy or intrigue. The defense of the property of citizens in foreign lands has long been held a cause of war and it seems by some nations to have become a legitimate process to develop a pretext for intervention¹ and war.

¹A cablegram from Manila announces that Japanese interests are negotiating the purchase of an American lumber mill and its business. They have already purchased several large sugar plantations and are bidding for more. The lumber mill alone will cost them about a million dollars.

Japan knows what it wants and it is not slow in moving towards its aim. Japanese are several times as numerous in Hawaii as white men. They have been making soundings around Guam. They are acquiring interests in the Philippines. A million dollar lumber mill devastated by Filipino revolutionaries after the United States has withdrawn would tickle the Japanese foreign office. It would justify intervention.

But should we not protest to Japan that it is bad taste to begin the process of absorption so soon?—Editorial, *Chicago Tribune*, February, 1916, as Congress was discussing the immediate independence of the Philippines.

But Section II. furnishes the text for the controversy, "All aliens other than those mentioned in Section I. of this act may acquire, possess and enjoy and transfer real property or any interest therein in this State, in the manner and to the extent and for the purpose prescribed by any treaty now existing between the United States and the nation or country of which such alien is citizen or subject, and not otherwise, and may, in addition thereto, lease lands in this state for agricultural purposes for a term not exceeding three years."

Section II. makes the intent of the law apply to alien owned corporations.

Section IV. provides for the disposition of the real property now owned by an ineligible alien at death, to wit: If he has an heir who may acquire land under the condition of the law, all the usual laws of heritage apply, and it must be remembered that children of eligibles, if born on American soil, are American citizens; if he has no such heir, the state sells the land and gives the proceeds to his heirs.

The remaining sections pertain to the amendment and violation of the law.

I submit that this law is just and fair. It is fully within the province and the rights of the State to enact. Both the President and the Secretary of State of the United States in official correspondence have declared that. It does not dispossess any ineligible alien of the land he now has, but he cannot will it to another alien, thus holding American soil forever in alien ownership, and he cannot will it to his Emperor for a military base or a seaport. It does not prevent an alien from leasing agricultural land, but he cannot have a lease in length of continuance to equal a deed.

It does not discriminate against the Japanese. Oh, how they and their confreres raise that cry! They know

that the idea of equality is an American fetish—one of those ideas that once within the soul of a nation is accepted without thought and worshipped as national religion. They know that a sentiment stirred by such a national fetish neither looks at facts nor listens to reason. It is a bold and crafty stroke. Such a plan need have no basis in fact in order to be powerful, for men and nations go to battle as readily when pursuing a phantom as when following the truth.

But this law does not discriminate against the Japanese. They are nowhere mentioned in the bill. It follows the lines of classification made by the United States, and Japan insults the sovereignty of our National Government when she calls it discrimination in the sense that it is injustice and injury or questions either the wisdom or the power of such a classification.

But even calling this classification a discrimination made by the nation, this Bill does not discriminate against the Japanese any more than against all in his class; the Chinese, the Turks, the Mohammedans, all the Eurasians, the Mongols, and the Malays, defined by our laws as Asiatics—nearly 800,000,000 of people, all of whom are ineligible to become American citizens.

Why then do we call this a Japanese problem? Why do we not call it what it is, an Asiatic problem, an Oriental problem, a problem of ineligible aliens?

The answer to that question is the whole problem. It is a Japanese problem, because against the principle of that law and the whole body of national ideas in which it is founded, the Japanese nation, its citizens here, its Government in Japan, is making a terrific assault. This American classification irritates her sense of racial superiority. It interferes with the free swing of her wide flung self-assertion. It impedes her economic advance. This land bill in California marks the frontier where two

races deploy the essential forces of two civilisations, wholly different in soul. It is the first redoubt that has not fallen before the violent aggressions which the "New Japan" launched when she sailed out with army and navy to possess China in 1894.

CHAPTER VI

OCCIDENT OR ORIENT.

JAPAN'S RIGHT TO OWN AMERICAN LAND

WHAT have been Japan's objections to this law? She began to utter them before the bill was passed. She said it would violate the treaty of 1911. This gave California a chance to rewrite the bill, and she rewrote it making it subject to "any treaty now existing between the United States and the nation or country of which such alien is a citizen or subject."

But there has been wide-spread report and feeling that we violated a treaty and violent criticism was based on that feeling. Even now some pro-Japanese tacticians continue to assert that indefensible charge. The President and Secretary of State have assured Japan that it cannot be interpreted as a treaty violation. If opinion is based on the language of the treaty of 1911 itself, on examination of all treaties involved, on notes and memoranda when these treaties were in the making, and on the official interpretation defending this law, it is due us from every American citizen to withdraw any adverse judgment and to give us what every American citizen asks and what every true American ought to give another—the confidence and the support of citizens of a common country.

This discussion of our violation of a treaty brings up sharply the relation of the treaty-making powers of the nation and the law-making powers of a state. Whatever individuals may think these powers ought to be, we must all agree that both state and nation must hold

rigidly within their respective bounds until new ones are defined by proper amendments. This whole subject has been under discussion from the beginning of our nation and our most capable statesmen and jurists have contributed to it. It has never been more vital than now.

A recent treatment of this matter by an eminent scholar, St. George Tucker,¹ shows that there has been practically a perfect agreement on the part of our statesmen, publicists and jurists with respect to the power lodged in the Government to make and ratify binding treaties. He quotes from the writings of Calhoun, Story, Webster, William A. Duer, Cooley, Randolph Tucker, Wharton, Alexander Hamilton, John Hay, Wirt, Clay, Jefferson, Madison and others, all of whom hold that the Government's treaties may not violate the Federal Constitution.

The main conclusions agreed upon Mr. Tucker presents as follows:

"The Constitution of the United States so limits the treaty-making power:

"I. That a treaty cannot take away, nor impair, the fundamental rights and liberties of the people secured to them in the Constitution and its Amendments.

"II. That a treaty cannot bind the United States by any agreement to do what is expressly or implicitly forbidden in the Constitution.

"III. That a power granted in the Constitution, to be exercised by a certain department of the Government and in a certain way, cannot be validly exercised

¹*Treaty-Making Power.* Limitations on the Treaty-making Power under the Constitution of the United States. St. George Tucker, formerly Dean of the Washington and Lee University, and also Dean of the George Washington University, Washington, D. C. Little, Brown & Co., Boston.

by a treaty in disregard of the manner prescribed in the Constitution.

“IV. That a treaty cannot change the form of the Government of the United States.

“V. That whenever control of personal and property rights is, under the Constitution, confided to any department of the Government, or to a State, as the constitutional repository of such rights, the department or State may not be ousted of its jurisdiction by having the same transferred to the treaty-making power.

“VI. That the treaty-making power cannot confer greater rights upon foreigners than are accorded citizens of the United States under the Constitution.”¹

Articles I., II., III. and V. above give complete basis for our contention. The Constitution reserves to the states the function to make the laws of personal and property rights, the qualifications of land owners, land transfer and inheritance. California and the other states that limit the rights of aliens are acting fully within the powers vested in them. The treaties of the United States cannot trespass on these powers.

But this argument is not necessary as answer to Japan, because this treaty of 1911 gives Japan no right whatever to own land.

This treaty of 1911 is entitled, “A Treaty of Commerce and Navigation,” and it holds strictly within the realm of the subjects embraced in the title. It was not intended to define the land rights to be granted by either party and does not attempt it.

The word land is mentioned but once in all the treaty. The rights granted are stated in great clearness and are as follows:

¹See *New York Times*, February, 1916.

"The citizens or subjects of each of the High Contracting Parties shall have liberty to enter, travel and reside in the territories of the other to carry on trade, wholesale and retail, to own or lease and occupy houses, manufactories, warehouses, and shops, to employ agents of their choice, to lease land for residential and commerce purposes, and generally to do anything incident to or necessary for trade upon the same terms as native citizens or subjects submitting themselves to the laws and regulations there established."

The liberties exchanged are: To enter, travel and reside for the purpose of wholesale and retail trade; to own, lease or occupy houses, manufactories, warehouses, and shops to carry on trade; to lease land for residential or commercial purposes to carry on trade.

This treaty gives to Japan no right to own the land on which she may own houses, manufactories, warehouses and shops,—she may only lease that land under a plain interpretation of the treaty.

It gives Japan no right to lease, much less to own, agricultural land and it was the aggressions on agricultural land that gave rise to the land law.

Here, then, we begin to study the Oriental interpretation of a contract. For often it happens that it matters not so much what is in the contract; it is the interpretation of it that counts.

We as individuals and as a nation interpret contracts to confer only those rights that are specially defined therein—no more; Japan apparently interprets a contract to give her not only all rights defined therein, but *also to permit her rights that are not definitely denied therein*. And between this positive and this negative interpretation of contract are the Occident and the Orient.

These statements as well as the nature of Japanese diplomacy will be illuminated by a brief review of the

official correspondence between Japan and the United States regarding the California land law.

First let us trace Japan's contention of her right to own land under existing treaties. In Note I., she claims that the California law "is inconsistent with the provisions of the treaty actually in force between Japan and the United States," referring to the treaty of 1911.

Our government in reply quotes the original draft of this treaty which was submitted by Japan herself through Baron Uchida and which became the basis of the treaty. Our government says of this: "It will be observed that in this clause which was intended to deal with the subject of real property there is no reference to the ownership of land. The reason of this omission is understood to be that the Imperial government desired to avoid treaty engagements concerning ownership of land by foreigners and to regulate the matter wholly by domestic legislation."

Why did Japan at that time avoid treaty engagements regarding the right to own land? Because if she secured land ownership by treaty *from* America she would have to give the same right by treaty *to* America. Her national policy would then have compelled her to grant the land right to all foreigners. This she did not want to do. Hence, upon Japan's own wish to deny land rights to Americans there was no exchange of land rights in the treaty. But we are treated to a genuine surprise in Japan's last note made fifteen months later when she reversed her own contention by saying, "The reason why no stipulation regarding land ownership was inserted in the treaty is because neither contracting party desired at that time such a stipulation, the United States equally with Japan." What an admission! The Japanese gave no right, they received no right to own land!

How then can Japan continue to claim the right to

own land in America? When she wrote Note I. she located that right in Article XIV. of this same treaty under "the most favored nation" clause.

The United States shows Japan that the *land right is not conveyed under that clause* and that it has not been customary in the practice of the United States to grant the land right in any Treaty of Commerce and Navigation. "Article XIV. of the treaty to which your Excellency refers appears to relate solely to the rights of commerce and navigation. These the California statute does not appear to be designed in any way to affect. The authors of the law seem to have been careful to guard against any invasion of contractual rights."

Again Japan returns to what we may term the inclusive or negative interpretation in order to claim for her subjects in America the right to *inherit* American soil. She says the treaty of 1911 gave her the right "to own and lease houses"; that "the words 'to own' are words of the widest significance, and . . . include . . . the right to acquire real property in question by all ordinary lawful means, viz., by purchase, by devise, and by descent, and those words also it is contended cover the right to dispose of such real property when duly acquired by all various methods known to the law, viz., by sale, by gift, by bequest and by transmission. In other words ownership carried with it as a necessary incident full right of alienation."

Our government tells Japan that her claim "appears to extend too far the theory that the ownership of property carries with it a vested right to dispose of such property in all the ways in which property may be transferred, by sale, by gift, by devise, or by descent *without future limitation or restriction*. Such a theory would render it impossible for a country to alter its laws with regard to the transmission of property. So far as the Department

is advised it has never been held that a right of ownership vested either in a citizen or in an alien would be impaired by a change in the law denying to any and all aliens the right to purchase lands. Such changes in the law have not been infrequent either in the United States or elsewhere and it is believed that they have not been held to impair vested rights."

In like manner the precedents which Japan cites from the history of the United States in order to establish her contention actually become counts against Japan when they are fully narrated. It is surprising that trained diplomats of any nation should take only such parts of an historic occurrence as will seem to support their claim and should omit those very essential factors which render the past incident cited no parallel at all to the present incident.

Case I. Japan claims that in 1875 the United States set up against Brazil on account of the acts of one of her provinces, the same contention which Japan now makes against the United States on account of one of our states, to wit, that the national government of Brazil (quoting the language of the United States to Brazil) "Must be held accountable for any injury to the person or property of a citizen of the United States committed by a citizen of a province."

The United States points out to Japan that in this case she had limited the responsibility of the Brazilian national government to those cases "*when justice may be unobtainable through the courts*"; and she reminds Japan that since the very beginning of this controversy the courts of the United States have been open to her for settlement of all claims. The incident does not apply.

Case II. In Note II. Japan claims that the United States in 1879 made against Mexico exactly the same diplomatic representations regarding land rights in Mexico that Japan now makes regarding land rights in

the United States. This she says establishes her own case in full as a *part of the general policy of the United States*.

The United States answers that she acknowledges that in 1879 our Secretary of State had gone with Mexico to the full length of the Japanese claim with the United States on the basis of a treaty of Commerce and Navigation. Quoting at length the answer Mexico made to us, our State Department shows Japan that Mexico made her position so forceful that the claim of the United States appeared untenable; and although our Secretary of State at the time made a second protest in reply to Mexico, the government of Mexico paid no attention to it, and did not even answer our final note, *and the whole argument and contention was abandoned by the United States!!*

Case III. Again in Note II. Japan cites a resolution that was passed by our House of Representatives arraigning Russia for her severe treatment of the Jews, stating that Russia had violated her treaty with the United States by discrimination based on race and religion; Japan claims this is the exact charge she makes against the United States; to wit: that the United States is making unjust discrimination against her on account of race.

Our State Department replies that the resolution cited by Japan "was never communicated to the Russian government and never assumed an international character"; and *that the passage quoted by Japan does not even appear in the resolution adopted by Congress*; and that "the previous conditions continue and the discrimination complained of remains unchanged"!!

This is Japanese diplomacy.

America, watch your step!

CHAPTER VII

“LET US ARBITRATE”

A LEVER PLACED UNDER AMERICAN SOVEREIGNTY

WHEN Japan's claims of discrimination and the violation of the treaty of 1911 were refused, her publicists at home, her subjects and friends here at once set up the proposal to arbitrate the whole matter at The Hague.

In January, 1914, Hamilton Holt, of *The Independent*, wrote a pamphlet entitled, *Wanted: A Final Solution of the Japanese Problem*. Thousands of copies of it were distributed by the American Association for International Conciliation—one of the Peace Societies supported by the Carnegie Endowment. In it he fiercely assails the Pacific Coast, particularly California and all other pro-Americans in this America-Japan affair, and he comes out clearly as the champion of Japan's case, which he approves in every detail. He says of arbitration, “If the case should come before the Supreme Court of the United States, it is likely to be decided in favour of Japan. If the case should go to the Hague Court, the decision would probably likewise be in favour of Japan. The equity is on her side.”

Japan has no legal right to ask arbitration because of any treaty we have with her. But the proposal to arbitrate the question met an immediate response among our sentimentalists, just as Japan knew it would, for the idea appealed to is another American fetish—fair play. It is a fetish because we approach fair play with sure confidence, because we really mean it, and we believe the

other side will be forced to it out of sheer regard for our innocent integrity. Nations ought to deal so, but this is sheer surrender in practical diplomacy as it is now. It is a fetish in this particular case because the conditions of fair play do not exist. Why?

Japan has everything to gain and nothing to lose. We have everything to lose and nothing to gain. Japan has not been deprived of any rights ever conferred upon her by our laws or ever acquired by treaty. Japanese aliens have never had the right to own land,—they have merely assumed it on their own initiative. Americans should know that of all the governments of the great powers our own is the most unfinished, and we have left to the last that which, of all peoples, we should have settled first. We receive into residence in the United States annually more aliens than do all other great powers combined, and yet we have never established a national code which defines the rights of aliens positively and negatively. Aliens come here of their own volition; in recent years these masses are drawn here wholly by selfish and economic motives, not with the thoughts of our forefathers. We permit these aliens to imitate our acts, assume our rights and let them live among us wholly without challenge, even though they maintain but the shadow of conformity to our institutions. We even permit them to assault these institutions, libel our officials, preach anarchy and, to quote President Wilson, "to pour the poison of disloyalty into the arteries of our nation." But if you step over into Japan, you find a national code, as formal and complete as a dictionary, which defines everything you can do and everything you cannot do. And mark, in passing, one of the things you cannot do is to own land in fee simple anywhere; and in important districts, or any "district needed for military purposes," aliens cannot secure the use of land, not even under the restricted means by

which now, by hook and crook, land is obtained by a "juridical person."

Arbitrate! What is it that Japan has asked us to carry to a court where she has everything to gain and nothing to lose, and where the chances are in her favour that other nations, whose interests are identical with her own, may join her to interpret claims to American resources for their common advantage? What is it that Japan has asked us to arbitrate? Nothing less than our right to own our own soil. Upon a nation's right to own its soil, to sell it to whom she pleases, to deny it to whom she pleases without explanation, question or quibble, all the power in sovereignty rests. Undermine that foundation and the structure of our government will crack to the turret's top.

The land right is the determining force in government and civil liberty depends upon it. So long as the land right resided in monarchs, governments were hereditary and despotic; then slaves were everywhere; then Pharaohs built pyramids and Neros killed at will. Liberty could not be born in the world until the common man came to own the land on which her infant feet could rest. The founders of our nation so clearly understood that principle when they wrote the Constitution that they held the land right far from the central power and vested it in the people of the states, who then held it and would not give it up; nor were they required to give it up. The rights to make the laws fixing the terms of land ownership, transfer and inheritance were vested in the several states and there they must remain. The nation cannot arbitrate the rights of the state to own and control its soil.

Mr. I. N. Ito, Secretary of the Japanese Legation at Berlin, just before the war, heard this statement made in an address and answered it on the following day with true diplomatic craft and Oriental art. He realized that no government could arbitrate a question involving its

sovereignty, and so he diverted the attention from the fact. "Mr. Flowers misstated the proposal as a challenge to the United States to determine the ownership of American soil, but the controversy is whether America has violated the treaty of 1911. The arbitration is to determine whose interpretation is correct."¹

But a decision in Japan's favour would at once impair our sovereignty, give her the right to own American soil, contrary to the intent of the makers of the treaty, contrary to our desire, and it would result in the surrender of our sovereign right or the immediate recall of the treaty, with results, in either case, too serious to court. Further, if the Japanese be given the right to own land, they will have the right to buy more; and that under the terms of "The Gentleman's Agreement" entitles them to come in and possess it, and to dwell upon it in such numbers as they choose. And there! You have the door open.

This then is to arbitrate sovereignty. In support of this position, I quote from the remarkable article, "The Japanese Menace," in *The Century* for March, 1916, written by Thomas F. Millard.²

"Japan's point of view is merely that her people want to come to western countries and to have the same rights and opportunities here that others have. The real pressure behind this desire I have already indicated (economic advantage over Japan itself, of China, Korea or Manchuria) and it is a condition that cannot be ameliorated by arguments or satisfied by concessions to 'honour.' In support of her point of view Japan advances arguments, some of which seem plausible at first blush but all of which are inconsistent in some degree and almost

¹Kalamazoo, Michigan, July, 1914.

²Editor of *The China Press*, Shanghai; author of "*The New Far East, America and the Far Eastern Question*."

wholly irreconcilable with what our nation can possibly concede. Japan insists that her subjects shall have the same position and rights in the United States as, let us say, Englishmen or French or Dutch or Germans. That seems fair enough, but consider—with whom does it rest to say who shall and who shall not join in our nationality, share our political and social life? With this nation, of course. To submit that decision in any part to a foreign nation would mean to qualify our sovereignty. We reserve to ourselves the right to exclude or admit whom we will, according to standards of citizenship which we make for ourselves. From this position I am sure Americans cannot be budged except by superior force of arms."

A startling principle on the right to the land of the world is laid down by Japanese scholars and statesmen. It is ever the trick of the aggressor, in order to hide his evil, to lay down some righteous-looking general principle of apparent universal application. The Japanese are masters in that. When you know the Japanese mind you instinctively begin to thread your way from his general law to his application of it to discover its purpose and where the deception comes in. Here is an instance.

Mr. Sidney L. Gulick, whom the *Independent* and The Federal Council of the Churches of Christ declare is the American most competent to interpret the spirit of Japan, represents in one of his books the Japanese speaking to each other as follows:

"What a shame it is that the domineering, insolent white man has seized all the great unoccupied countries with their vast natural resources, and selfishly holds them for himself, while we who constitute more than a half of the world's most cultured peoples are cooped up in these limited lands. Surely the white peoples must finally be forced, if necessary, to grant us that equality of oppor-

tunity and courtesy of treatment which they accord one another."

Clearer still is voiced this creed, that all land belongs to all men, by Professor Nagai of Waseda University as follows: "In Australia, South America, Canada and the United States [all white-man lands, observe] are vast tracts of unoccupied territory, yet no yellow people are permitted to enter. To seize the greater part of the earth and refuse to share it, is so manifestly unjust that it cannot continue."

That is the teaching of her Universities; her press, magazines, books and addresses are full of it. Upon such a principle she can with quiet conscience pursue her seizure in Korea, Manchuria, and China,—and America. That is the challenge Japan makes to the boundary lines of the white countries of the world.

But the challenge does not end with that. Kawakami, head of the Japanese Association of America and leader of their campaign in the United States, says the United States has not even the right to determine who may and who may not come in and occupy our soil. His statement is the most radical yet made, but at last it reveals the spirit of the Japanese toward the world, it speaks out the arrogant and revolutionary "general principles" of Japan's diplomacy; it is a fine illustration of the inclusive or negative interpretation of a treaty as you will note; for he makes immigration a subordinate element of travel and trade; and then includes the rights to immigrate, to settle, to buy, to own and to remain under the granted rights of trade and travel. His statement is:

"There is another point which the Americans must bear in mind in discussing the immigration question. The pet theory of Japanese exclusionists has been that the American Government has the right to decide what people should be admitted and what should be barred out. For

the sake of politeness Japan has been willing to concede that point in favour of America. But the truth is that America, or any other nation, has no such right. Immigration is simply another term for travel and trade, and the freedom of travel and trade from one country to another is explicitly guaranteed in all international treaties of amity and commerce. If Japan restricts of her own accord the immigration of her subjects to this country, it is not because she recognizes America's right to discriminate against her, but because she prefers to retain American friendship rather than create a serious issue over immigration. In other words, Japan's voluntary restriction of emigration to America is a special act of courtesy and not an admission of American right of exclusion.”¹

Japan goes much further. She demands that our government be made over in profound essentials to conform to her own national ideas. “What we demand is the principle of equal treatment of all aliens resident in the United States.”²

“Of course,” cry the pro-Japanese sentimentalists, the Hamilton Holts, Gulicks, Scudders, Mabies, the Steiners, and Millises, for Japan has struck another fetish of theirs—the fetish of “general principle.” “Of course, we must act with all nations on general principle.” But let us consider Japan’s own use of this general principle.

First. Japan treats all aliens except Chinese and negroes equally well, but none of them so well as her own people. Aliens in Japan have by no means the rights of nationals; from some districts they are excluded altogether; they have not the same land rights in any. This is *alien discrimination*.

¹*New York Times*, July 5, 1916.

²*The Japan Times*, (Official Organ of the Government.)

Second. Japan's aliens are of two classes: Mongolians and Whites. She discriminates in favour of her own citizens against her own race, the Mongolians,¹ and also against the white race, and her scorn of negroes is a fact patent to the world. This is *race* discrimination.

Third. In her conquered states of Manchuria and Korea she gives her conquered people rights equal to one another but by no means equal to Japanese, for whom she reserves special advantages of great value. This is discrimination against her *own subjects*.

Fourth. In China, where Japan herself is alien, she says, "China, you must treat all other foreign nations on equal terms but, to me, you must give additional valuable rights to your resources, development, commerce and military and you must consult me in all important matters and give preference in business to my nationalities." This is despotic discrimination in the meanest form.

¹In 1899 the Japanese government passed a law (Ordinance 352) in which she went far beyond the California Land Law. She denied to alien labourers the rights to enter any except very restricted territory, even though these aliens had by treaty the rights of residence, trade, and other acts in the whole Japanese Empire. This act was aimed at the Chinese, as our Government reminds Japan in the official correspondence which follows: "The Department is advised that this Ordinance was promulgated in order to prevent the immigration of Chinese labourers who were attracted to Japan by the rise in wages which began in that country after the war with China, and has continued ever since. As a result of the rise in wages conditions grew up not unlike those which have existed at certain places in the United States, the objections made in Japan to Chinese labourers being that they worked for lower wages than the natives. In the summer of 1907, as the Department is advised, two groups of Chinese labourers were excluded from Japan under the application of the ordinance above mentioned, one of the excluded groups being composed of coolies, the other of skilled artisans, such as mechanics. The Department is not advised that the Ordinance has been or *is enforced as against labourers other than Chinese.*"

This is Japan's application of her general principle of equal treatment, which is violated by herself in four different ways. What moral force should her example have in driving Americans to give her equal rights with other aliens, which in practice would give her equal rights with ourselves?

But she makes other demands quite as impudent and revolutionary. "What we further demand is a fundamental remedy, which shall eliminate all racial incapacity for our nationals." This would revise our naturalisation code and immigration laws, repeal the Gentleman's Agreement, and reverse our whole Oriental policy. "And we demand the elimination of the rights of individual states to interfere in any way with the treaty rights granted by Washington," in which she reserves to herself the modest prerogative of defining the "individual rights," the "interference" and "the treaty rights granted at Washington." That is, America must revise the Constitution to readjust the states to the nation!

The President and Secretary did not offer to arbitrate the California law at The Hague, but they did offer to try the case in the Courts of the United States and to reimburse any Japanese for any losses the law might entail. *Our government at Washington even offered to buy all Japanese lands at highest market value.* Never let this be forgotten! Japan would not trust the Courts of the United States, nor accept the offer of indemnity, nor sell the lands she held. To none of this would she listen. She had long been waiting for this opportunity to cajole Americans into granting far greater gifts. She had set for her nationals a higher goal. She determined to wait. Meantime she would begin a campaign for the Conquest of American Public Opinion—a campaign of remarkable cleverness, pushed with all the fatalistic vigour of her nature. She discontinued negotiations with the United

States June 10, 1914, and published the correspondence. In her last sentence she laid down in clear English, of unmistakable import, what may be called a perpetual automatic ultimatum: "The Imperial Government is unable to acquiesce in the unjust and obnoxious discrimination complained of, or to regard the question as closed so long as the existing state of things is permitted to continue."

CHAPTER VIII

THE GOAL AND THE WAY TO IT

JAPAN REVEALS HER REAL PURPOSES

AND now what is the goal at which the Japanese aim, the goal at the end of the campaign begun so long ago? It is American citizenship, with all the rights and privileges of the American-born white man—the right of free entrance for her nationals into the United States; the right to vote; the right to own American land anywhere, in any quantity, for any purpose; the right to be legislators and governors of states; the right to go to Congress and make the laws; the right to sit upon our Supreme Courts of State and Nation, and there to determine the very genius of our future civilisation.

And what more lies beyond this goal? When he is an American citizen he will be in a position to secure, what he now asserts, equal social standing before the laws of all the states,—the right to mix his blood with any blood he chooses to mix it with. And that is a race problem, the impact of which may stagger if it does not at last prostrate the white race of our land.

Since being ineligible to American citizenship hinders his possession of our Pacific lands, he will remove that ineligibility. Then all anti-alien land laws will fall to the ground. Then by concentrating his population in certain states and in special centres in those states, and waiting, waiting for more men, for all their “picture brides,” and for their native born children, who are American citizens by right of birth; waiting until all these

vote, he will have his representatives at the capitols, control the balance of power and be master of his destiny. It is a master stroke.

Within thirty days after the passage of the land law and two months before it went into effect, the Japanese press and interviews with their consuls and officials became summarised into the reported statement of the Japanese Consul General in New York as follows: "The Japanese Government now desires for its nationals the full privilege of American citizenship, on an equal footing with other civilised nations." And a year later came the clear demand in the official organ of the Japanese Government: "What we demand is a fundamental remedy, a new treaty providing for the elimination of racial incapacity for our nationals." Thus Japan appealed her case from the people of California to all the people of the United States. And the Third Conflict was on.

For in the first and second conflicts Japan had studied the American people and she concluded it would be easier to move all the people once than to hold part of the people all the time. Where she is known, where she has been tried, she has been rejected. She now turns to the lines of least resistance, which she has clearly defined.

First of all, she has discovered that the American people are intensely local; that most of them are so interested in their own little business, their own little town and county that they are content to remain in total ignorance of the deep meaning and rapid development of this problem. She has found them about as indifferent to the Japanese problem as they are ignorant. What is more, and what is a sure sign of national weakness and decline, she has found most of them careless of the welfare of the next generation, and almost wholly regardless of the next, and the next after that.

One day an old gentleman attended a lecture at a Chau-

tauqua where this problem was presented. After the lecture the speaker was walking up the street behind this old gentleman who was talking fluently to two fine ladies. This is what he said, and it fairly represents a great body of Americans: "Well, well, ladies, I didn't get very much out of that lecture. No I didn't, no I didn't. For my part I'd just as soon see the Japanese come into this country as some other folks, yes I would, yes I would. Anyway, they'll never give me any trouble in my day and generation and I'll just let the next generation take care of itself." That man and all of his like should have appeared on this earth in a form to permit them to be in pastures eating green grass and tin cans.

Then they have discovered that we are the most sentimental people upon the earth. Where arguments fail and facts cannot convince, an appeal to one of our traditional sentiments or an old phrase backed by prejudice moves us into action howling mad. They have discovered that we are totally defenseless against all appeals to religious sentiment. And worst of all that we have a pagan's idea in a providence, "our providence," who is much stronger than the providence over any other nation; and though we defy all reason and experience, "our providence," because we are Americans, will preserve us from the terrible disasters that have always befallen the foolish and careless nations of the past.

Along all of these easy roads she has marked the paths to her goal.

The campaign for the Conquest of American Opinion now has three clear features. The first is a campaign to discredit the intelligence and the character of the people of California and thus to destroy the influence of the solid verdict which that State has rendered against the Japanese. The second is a general play upon American ideals and sentiments, interpreting them all on Japan's side of

the case. The third is to organise the pro-Japanese sentiment so created into definite propaganda and to spread it by American sympathisers through our great institutions that reach every individual in the land—through the churches, public schools, colleges, the public press, press bureaus and clubs and societies made to order for the purpose. In promoting all these lines she has chosen to bring into action every force of sectional interest, and especially that peculiar prejudice, ignorance and sectional antagonism which the far “easterner,” who has never traveled or studied it except from a Pullman window, entertains for the mighty new world—The West.

American sentiments to which Japan and the pro-Japanese appeal, appear over and over repeatedly, until they have a formula as patent as a proprietary medicine. Taken in groups these appeals may be classed as: Religious, based on Theological hypotheses; Social, based on peculiar views of history and ancient interpretation of science; Economic, based on prospective profits to America; Political, based on expediency and peace. These play upon the whole gamut of religion, tradition, sentiment, egotism, love of money and snobbery itself.

The sentiments worked upon are—“All men are equal”; “America, the refuge for all”; “America, the hope of the world”; “America, the Melting Pot”; “America, the land of fair play”; “Survival of the fittest”; “Road to Universal Peace”; “Japan to fuse Occident and Orient”; “Federation of the World”; “Follow general principles”; “Subordinate the States”; “Exclusion is unchristian”; “Discrimination is unjust”; “We must admire the Japanese”; “Manners, thrift, industry, cleanliness of the Japanese”; “Honour bound by Treaty”; “We must avoid all trouble”; “We are a Christian nation.”

Besides a play on these sentiments we can catalogue clearly the following stock arguments with all that per-

tains to them—The “War” argument; The “Peace” argument; “Time will solve” argument; “Traditional friendship” argument; “Trouble unthinkable” argument; “What never has happened, etc.” argument; “Japan is very poor” argument; “Japan is overcrowded” argument; “Comparatively few in California” argument; “All nations made of one blood” argument; “Japanese are not Mongolians anyhow” argument; “Better than South Europeans” argument; “Not an aggressive nation” argument; “Commercial welfare and advantage” argument; “Everybody knows Japan is sincere” argument.

This campaign is highly scientific; its ultimate results no student of social psychology will fail to see. The appeals to these sentiments, the forms of these arguments, are superficial and fallacious, but, continued through the agencies now employed, they will soon produce a set of ideas and beliefs which will be accepted without debate. They will become a part of our national traditions and Japan will have completed her Conquest of American Opinion.

PART II

FORCES AND METHODS OF THE JAPANESE CONQUEST

"If we can put this Gulick program over in the other forty-seven states we will coerce California into our position."¹

¹Mr. Hamilton Holt. A founder of the Japan Society of New York; Chairman of the Commission on Relations with Japan in the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ.

CHAPTER IX

MALIGNING A STATE

A CAMPAIGN OF VITUPERATION

“CALIFORNIA is not the whole United States. If we can put Mr. Gulick’s plan over in the other forty-seven states, we will coerce California into our position.”

That statement, made to the writer by Hamilton Holt, is a whole history. To play upon American sentiment, to disparage the people of a state, and undermine her standing in the Union, to “put Japan over” in states where she is not known, where there is no local interest, and where the people are still asleep on this question, and to coerce the people of a section of the country by sheer preponderance of number,—that campaign has promise of success in a country like ours!

The participants in this campaign all play upon the same ideas. They centre the fight upon California, although Washington has a stricter law, and the alien Japanese do not own a foot of that state. California people are called rough, ignorant, prejudiced, of the discredited type of ruffian miner and pistoled cowboy, burlesqued on the stage, and revived with greater exaggeration in the moving picture—types which long since have disappeared. They say that the legislation against Japanese is promoted by boodlers, criminals, professional agitators, jingoes, demagogues,—these are their very words; that there are no facts to justify California’s course; that it is brutal and unchristian; that it will lead to a boycott of America in Japan and great commercial loss; that the Japanese will never forget it or forgive it, and that the only end of it will be *war*.

This appalling program to malign a state and mislead a nation I shall now present in detail.

Mr. Sidney L. Gulick begins by impeaching the character of all the people. He says that they are incapable of telling the truth: "When I first began to read on the Japanese situation in California, I accepted as trustworthy the statements of manifestly able writers. Investigation of many specific assertions, however, has led me to put a question mark against every anti-Japanese statement which I myself have not verified."

He asks America to adopt his New Oriental Policy so that "all anti-Japanese legislation in California and all other states would at once be void and all future legislation impossible"; "it would provide for the rights of aliens *regardless of the ignorance and prejudice of unfriendly localities.*"¹

He assails Peter F. McFarlane's articles in *Collier's* as unreliable, and the facts presented by C. K. McClatchky in *The American Citizen* as faked. He says of the statements of United States Senator Perkins, "All such sweeping assertions are utterly mistaken." He loves phrases like "*rabid, anti-Japanese legislation in California,*" "*belligerent utterances of her irresponsible student and political classes.*"

He will not accept a word about Japanese life and character from one who has not lived in Japan, and he repudiates the estimate of Lafcadio Hearn who lived there, married a Japanese woman and reared a family of children. How will he feel now about the truth told in the recent great books and articles by Carl Crow,² Jefferson Jones,³ Thomas F. Millard,⁴ and Samuel G. Blythe—all of whom

¹ "The American Japanese Problem."

² *Japan and America. A Contrast.*

³ *The Fall of Tsingtao.*

⁴ "The Japanese Menace," *Century*, March, 1916.

had lived or have worked as responsible newspaper men in Japan and China?

He says that Governor Johnson was unfair when he took Secretary Bryan out to see the Japanese districts, and the men to whom he introduced him were handpicked, ignorant and untruthful witnesses; that Governor Johnson, the Legislature and the people are unAmerican; that the California press is yellow and full of fabrications. No witness for California goes untouched; even Admiral Mahan, whose masterpieces on naval science revolutionised the naval strategy of the world and ranked him in all nations as a master of historical philosophy, he sweeps overboard with a wave of his hand. And to complete his argument he declares that the position of the United States toward Asia is disgraceful; the Supreme Court decisions on Asiatic exclusion are unjust; the support of California by the administration is wrong.

In full italics he says of the land bill: "*It is needless; it is shortsighted; it is misleading; it is a disgrace to the United States; it is positively injudicious; it is unjust and unkind; it is contrary to the spirit of all American treaties with Japan; it is hysterical; it is unchristian.*" So he leads you to believe that California is all wrong, and has no real case against the Japanese, who are clean, thrifty, industrious, polite, submissive, loving, greatly developing and aiding the state, loving the country and yearning to be citizens of the nation; that California is aggravating the hate of Japan, increasing the tension between these two ever friendly nations, and leading America toward the gravest dangers.

His arraignment includes the religion and the morals of the people; the churches, he says, are ruled by racial hate; deacons who welcome Japanese on Sunday are alleged to forbid them to say "good morning" on Monday; some Y. M. C. A.'s do not want them. California

family life is so bad that his Japanese friends say that Japanese employed as domestics "see such an unfortunate side of American life that it would be better for both Japan and America if all Japanese domestic service would cease." He excuses the acknowledged sexual immorality of Japanese men and women by saying, "In San Francisco is disclosed a state of affairs as to the relations of the sexes in certain classes of society in comparison with which the Japanese brothel is innocence."

Let us go no further. These are the arguments Mr. Gulick is making in his books, and in his articles and addresses so widely distributed, as will be shown in a succeeding chapter. If what he says is true, California is the worst enemy America ever had; if it is not true, Mr. Gulick is the worst enemy California ever had.

Mr. Hamilton Holt in 1914 wrote a pamphlet entitled: *Wanted, A Final Solution of the Japanese Problem*. It was distributed as a special bulletin by the American Association for International Conciliation, one of the beneficiaries of the Carnegie Endowment. In it Mr. Holt recounts what he considers America's affronts to Japan—in which many Americans come in for a strong blow. "President Roosevelt immediately after the California outbreak sent the fleet on its voyage around the world on a 'peace' cruise, but in reality 'to impress' Japan. Japan turned the other cheek by spending a million dollars to entertain it." Then he strikes California hard, and mixes up the Scripture in sentimental flight: "Here were a people who were brutally insulted by our Pacific Coast, a people we called 'heathen' and sent missionaries to Christianise, actually teaching us a lesson in Christian ethics. Though we all but drove them out of California, they met our officers and men, strewing their path with flowers. Though we excluded them from our schools, they suffered

their little children to greet us singing our national hymn."

Will America be deceived by such mawkish sentiment and perverted truth?

After berating several Congressmen, Senators Lodge and Dillingham, Secretary of State Knox and others for trying to keep alive the Monroe Doctrine and the door open in China, he brings in the climax. "But in 1913 our insults reached their climax,"—the anti-alien land law, a "brutal insult," "took effect, August 10, despite the strenuous protest of the Federal Government, and the almost unanimous opposition of the enlightened sense of the nation."

He ends his narrative with this scare: "The Japanese, as I have said, are a proud, sensitive and self-controlled people. But the Japanese do not forget. Let no one imagine that time and indifference on our part will heal this latest wound."

Mr. Hamilton Wright Mabie pays these compliments to the California Legislature: "Shortsighted and rough-handed way of dealing with a friendly nation;" "with a sensitive and powerful nation;" "omitting the courtesies with which civilised nations approach questions;" "driving the anti-Japanese bill through the Legislature;" "there was no immediate occasion for each legislation;" not the "slightest danger of a wave of Asiatic immigration;" "race hatred must be driven beyond the pale of civilisation; it is a survival of barbarism and must go back where it belongs."

He adds the usual ominous threat: "Those who imagine that the crisis has passed and that the clouds between the two countries will dissolve in thin air, do not know the persistence of the people with whom they are dealing. A Russian military writer has said of the Japanese that they seem to have mastered all kinds of tactics except those of

retreat. Any attempt to ignore their protests and trust to time to heal the breach will disastrously fail.”¹

In 1913 Jiuji G. Kasai, who is now engaged by one of the Japanese press bureaus in America, won the first prize in oratory in the University of Chicago, using an oration entitled, “The Mastery of the Pacific.” The President of the University gave it a foreword, and it was published by the University of Chicago “in the hope of advancing the cause of friendship and peace between the United States and Japan.” This is interesting, because it is a perfect type of the Japanese aggression. It represents their system of shrewd half-truths and positive untruths, the boldness of spirit with which the Japanese assault California in our own country on all occasions, and the indorsement of that attack in all its virulent, unjust language by Americans of high class who know nothing of the people of California or their cause and are totally lost in their belief in the Japanese.

The first paragraphs say: “When, a few years ago, we were engaged in the titanic struggle with Russia, you gave us hearty sympathy and moral support. But hardly had we fulfilled the hopes and expectations of the liberty-loving American people when suddenly there came the cries of jingoes and demagogues, ‘Beware of the Yellow Peril! Beware of Japan’s warlike ambition to master the Pacific at the expense of the United States.’ Moreover, the Japanese have been discriminated against, subjected to humiliation and injustice, until finally the recent anti-Japanese legislation in California has caused an embarrassment to both National Governments.” “That this historic bond of friendship should be thus threatened by irresponsible agitators and selfish demagogues is a crime, etc.”

¹*The Outlook*, August 2, 1913.

Because California does not want an Asiatic population, he quotes the worst phrases he can find to attack her. "Is this American freedom, Russian aristocracy, or Turkish subjugation? At the behest of ignorance, racial hatred and political chicanery, shall California permit herself to be disgraced?"¹

Kasai says that Japan is a peaceful nation, all her wars are for self defence, "not for aggrandisement or conquest. For generations to come Japan must summon all her energies for the development of Saghalien, Korea and Formosa." Yet before that was written she had forced a war on China, getting her first foot-hold on the Continent; and since then she has taken Shantung from China, and Kiao-chow from Germany, when neither were making any offence against her; she has fully clinched Manchuria, and made her twenty-one demands on all China and her resources, so that Tokio practically rules that kingdom to-day. Yet this statement of Kasai so highly indorsed is not three years old.

The usual threat follows: "Such an ungenerous attitude on the part of your people will, I fear, seriously imperil the friendly relations between our two countries. How long can the Japanese people who hold in such high regard justice and honour, patiently bear such continual irritation and injustice?"

His plan to adjust these difficulties is at least ingenious—"From those of us who are now in America Japan will draw her future leaders, and America can send to Japan no better ambassadors than these (Japanese) young men and women"!!

Is it possible that an American University promotes this vicious attack, this warlike threat, this absurd proposal in the interest of "friendship and peace"?

¹Quoted from Miss Alice M. Brown.

One California woman, Alice M. Brown, has added a chapter to this volume of vituperation which the Japanese propagandists are scattering over the land. It is a pamphlet entitled "Education not Legislation." It decries hate, but it is pitifully bitter in its exhibit of hate for those who are opposed to her own Japanese love. The Legislature, she says, "was a body of men racemad," animated by the "violent passions of barbaric men." She says it does not represent the farmers of the state—a statement completely refuted by the recent book of Mr. Millis. On one page she says the Japanese occupy "but a pinch" of California, on another that to interfere with their lands will "play havoc with our industrial and commercial spheres." She appeals frequently "to history, eugenics, science, justice, humanitarism," in defence of Japanese immigration, citizenship and intermarriage, and exposes what she knows about these by this appalling reversion of the facts of history: "The history of all nations is the history of the attempts to repulse the stranger at the gate, the final absorption of the one by the other, and the raising of the nation to a higher level and greater strength. This we know, that whatever is best will prevail." *Oh Greece, Rome, and Novgorod!*

Against this her opinion of April 27, 1913, I set the opinion of Benjamin Ide Wheeler, President of the University of California, as reported in the *New York Times*, May 21, 1913:

"In an interview, Dr. Wheeler said that the attitude of the state of California on the alien land question, in his opinion, was justified. If an alien land bill had not passed he believed that California would have left the hands of its natives, and in a very few years practically would have been owned by the Japanese.

"'Sensational reports,' he said, 'had led to an uneasy feeling here, but you will find that this will be a question

for diplomatic settlement. There are no demagogues in the State Legislature. They are men, who, in my opinion, honestly represent the people. Governor Johnson is popular all over California, and the people will support him in his stand.'

"Dr. Wheeler has lived in California for fourteen years."

This pamphlet by Miss Alice M. Brown prepared in the heat of passion, bitter, knowledge-reversing, which totally misrepresents the state, is still distributed everywhere and quoted by the Japanese and pro-Japanese more than is the statement of any other Californian, perhaps as much as all others combined.

Kasai quotes her in his oration, which he used as a lecture in New England. Kawakami quotes her over and over in his book, until, in different places, for different purposes, he has used quite completely her pamphlet and one magazine article. Mr. Gulick and Mr. Millis cite her in their books. This counter citation of this group, one to another as authorities, is a distinct feature of the conquest. Gulick, Kawakami, Millis, Scudder, Mabie, Alice M. Brown, Holt, Peabody, and Griffis have a perfect network of cross references.

K. K. Kawakami, the most voluminous of Japanese writers on this subject, contributes largely to this campaign. It would require a whole volume to cite and analyse the Oriental methods he employs, but we must take in him a glance at the Oriental mind.

For instance, he begins on Governor Johnson thus: "I have always been, and still am, a sincere admirer of Governor Johnson, etc."¹ Second step: "Yet they tell me the Progressive Governor of California, seeing that his influence was waning, was anxious to regain his popularity by catering to the wishes of the labouring class."²

¹*Asia at the Door.*

²*Ibid.*

[This impeaches the Governor's integrity and his motives.] Third step: On the Governor's reply to the President: "As a piece of logical argument it is a splendid document, yet there are arguments which, however logical, terse, and vigorous in expression, fall flat and we fear that Mr. Johnson's reply to the President was at best a fine example of such arguments. He could silence his opponents, but not convince them. To those who knew the inside story of the political game at Sacramento, the Governor's argument is far from convincing."¹ In this he accuses him of sheer political trickery and subterfuge.

In like manner he damns the state; (A), the praise, (B), the handy theory, (C), the rabid judgment.

(A) "Not only has California astonished the world with the rapidity of its material progress, but is marching abreast with the most advanced states in the field of learning and arts. Her higher institutions of learning are the pride of the nation, and even in Arts and Music she has made remarkable records."²

(B) The handy theory: "Perhaps the climate of California too has had some influence in developing a peculiar type of 'mass psychology.' Professor Steiner³ thinks that this climate is responsible for the mental habit of exaggeration commonly observed in California. [Gulick's charge, repeated.] Now the climate of California is a sort of climate that strengthens the passions and sends them wild for excitement. Not only does this climate quicken the pulse and the temper, but it gave birth to that

¹*Ibid.*, page 170.

²*Ibid.*, page 145.

³Professor E. A. Steiner, Teacher of Applied Christianity at Grinnell University, Iowa. An ardent believer in making America a veritable Melting Pot.

peculiar human being called the 'hoodlum'." "While the climate of California is congenial to the existence of the hoodlum, conditions were such as to swell the tide of lawless elements."¹ Isn't that a crafty process drawn through many pages to leave the impression that the people are hoodlums and lawless?

(C) Then by this gentle transition he leads to this condemnation:

"The law is decidedly un-American. It is enacted merely to throttle the legitimate aspirations of the Japanese; to keep the Japanese farmers in a state of serfdom; to fan the prejudice which is being constantly exploited by the jealous and ignorant." "What heresy, what perfidy to attempt to trample upon the sacred legacy of our revered sires, and to destroy the legacy upon which the great democracy stands!" "The majority of American newspapers and of fair-minded Americans turned a solid phalanx to the legislators of California and denounced their selfishness and bigotry. A minister declares from his pulpit: 'The California land bill is something that would disgrace hell in its palmiest days. It is a piece of political perfidy and rotten state's rights, of proverbial buncombe and of a rare and religious bigotry that makes the Oriental heathen a Christian saint in comparison. What a lovely example of low-browed, hard hearted provincialism!'

"When we think of this frank and fearless expression," says Kawakami, "we realize that the spirit of America is not dead, that the glory and greatness of the Republic are not a thing of the past!!"

At the hands of Dr. E. A. Steiner the attack on the people takes another form. I quote from Kawakami, page 154, *Asia at the Door*.

¹*Asia at the Door*, page 159.

"Dr. E. A. Steiner,¹ one of the foremost authorities on the immigration problem, in a recent address in St. Louis, sees the real menace for California, not in Oriental immigration but in the ebbing energy of its citizens. The pioneers of California who conquered all obstacles offered by nature, were energetic, undaunted, and willing to toil. But the present generation, Dr. Steiner points out, is beginning to seek pleasure, avoid parenthood, and shirk hard work and many Californians plainly admit that their young men no longer soil their hands with the tilling of the earth, but migrate to cities in quest of gentleman's work and easy money. Some writers go even so far as to assert that this very symptom of weakness on the part of California is one of the causes which brought about the agitation against the Japanese."

Dr. E. A. Steiner cannot be accepted as an "authority" on this question—if in any department of immigration. He is an extremely sentimental and emotional writer on that subject. To disprove his theory of declining energy in California one needs but cite the wonderful rebound of energy of San Francisco, which rebuilt a city in three years; of Los Angeles, in the development of business, and the recent municipal construction of an aqueduct 250 miles long over mountains and through granite, the greatest feat of its kind in the world, done on record time, without a hint of graft. Surely these are instances of conquering obstacles offered by nature. The unequalled energy of San Diego in maintaining the present Exposition, at the time of the Panama Exposition; the unequalled greatness of the Panama Exposition in size, cost, art, beauty, length of duration and financial triumph;

¹His position on immigration, the Melting Pot idea, is diametrically opposed to that of such eminent sociologists as E. A. Ross of the University of Wisconsin and Professor Fairchild of Yale, who are real authorities.

the unequalled development of the high school system and equipments of the state; the increased interest of the boys and girls in agriculture, horticulture and marine subjects, manual arts and sciences; the quadrupled enrollment in our agricultural schools at the University; the numbers of our University men and women who go from college directly to work on the ranches. Mr. Crissey, of the *Saturday Evening Post*, declares that our co-operative organisations for farmers are the most efficient in the nation and the best models of large co-operations in marketing and selling in any line in the world.

But though some of our boys and girls may go to towns and cities, as they do everywhere, they do not lose nor lack the energy to make our municipal development the finest in America. Clinton Rogers Woodruff established this fact:

"Two years ago a special committee of the National Municipal League gathered the reports of all the leagues, of municipalities, conferences of mayors and similar organisations, and also various other information regarding the activities and history of these organisations.

"It was the opinion of the committee that the best and most effective league was the California League of Municipalities, and that it constituted the highest development of such organisations yet seen in the United States."¹

These facts overwhelm Dr. Steiner. His opinion on loss of energy is reversed by an exhibit of increased energy. His charge that our women refuse parenthood is equally baseless, and reveals the length to which the pro-Japanese will go to discredit our people.

This brings us to consider another phase of the campaign of disparagement through the platform and the

¹*The American City*, June, 1914.

pulpit. The Federal Council of Churches asks every Christian minister to preach on peace on a certain Sunday in May called "Peace Day." They are instructed on the Japanese question in the notifications. Dr. Doremus E. Scudder, a Director of the Council, says, "That which faces us on Peace Sunday as a Christian people is a single question, 'What is our nation's duty to Japan?' The Church of Jesus Christ has only one answer to the question What is our nation's duty to Japan?; it is to apply that word 'all men are brethren' to our dealings with the man whom our nation calls 'Mongolian'; open our privilege of naturalisation to him on equal terms with the European."

Thus it appears that Peace Sunday is a movement in the Christian Church utilised by the Federal Council in the interest of Japanese citizenship and intermarriage. Dr. Scudder says, "In this day of human solidarity, when we are learning how intricately races have blended, and how truly alike physically and spiritually we all are, it is impossible to draw such lines as Mongolian, white or black."

The easiest thing the lecturers and ministers can do who follow this lead and who have seen only the Japanese propaganda, (and there is very little else to be seen) is to discredit western people. A certain Rabbi and lecturer appeared before a great meeting of public school teachers in an eastern city. He was presented to the audience as a distinguished advocate of peace, to deliver a lecture on "A Chosen People." The first half of it was a fine essay on the idea of genius in men and nations, each genius as chosen of heaven for a special service to the world. He then turned to the idea of peace—America the genius nation chosen of heaven to bring peace. And before I could realise where he would lead, he was describing the cry of Rome against Carthage, "Carthage must be de-

stroyed," and showed what havoc it brought to both cities. Then after he had thus opened the soul of fifteen hundred people to throbbing emotions against that Roman cry, he cried aloud with strong indignation: "And now we have in America a Rome on the Pacific Coast. It is California crying, 'Japan must be destroyed! We must have a war with Japan! Japan must be destroyed!'" And he proceeded to call down upon the state the dire denunciation of the whole country.

At the close of the lecture I walked to the platform and joined the group of people who had pressed forward to be presented to him. When he asked how I liked the lecture, I replied, "The first half was academic and fine, the second half was vicious and malicious. Your lecture can have but one result,—To misrepresent California; to create sectional prejudice against her; to encourage Japan in her campaign; to involve America in a great controversy, if not ultimate disaster."

"But California has no right to involve us in war."

"California wants war less than you do. We should suffer first and suffer most in such a war. I defy you to show me where any Californian or the California press has raised the cry of Rome. Where did you ever see or hear such a cry?"

"That is what the news reports are, and I only said 'That is what the reports are!'"

"No, pardon me, you spoke it without modification. But even had you so modified it, the effect would have been the same. Have you a right to make a charge against a whole state on mere report? And do you really know what this Japanese problem is about? Do you know what California's contention is?"

"No, not exactly, it is something about land ownership. But we can't have a war with Japan! You people have no right to cause this trouble."

"But suppose Japan is wrong and California is right, what then?"

"But she isn't right."

"You've just said you don't know the case. If California is right, what then?"

"Well, then, that would be different."

This is not an extreme instance of the common attack.

The next night it was my privilege to address the same audience. I related this incident and presented the problem as it is, and when the audience understood the whole matter, there was emphatic reversal of their opinion of the night before.

But this Rabbi lectures constantly and many others deliver similar lectures. Hamilton Holt told me concerning his lecture on Peace, for which he is paid by Mr. Carnegie,—“I always bring in a little in favour of Japan.” Hundreds, thousands, hundreds of thousands of such sermons and addresses are being given. They are rapidly producing a general notion in America which once established will be acted upon without debate and even without inquiry into the manner and the sources of its origin.

I have heard many discredit California because she has in her population a large number of people from the Southern States. Mr. Millis cites this fact as in part responsible for the anti-Asiatic position taken. Mr. Kawakami does also. Thus an old sectional prejudice is stirred to life. To illustrate this spirit, here is a true incident. The writer was discussing this problem with a group of highly refined ladies and gentlemen in a city in North Dakota. Among them was a rector of decided English characteristics, who has rendered fine service as a missionary to the Indians of the Northwest. The discussion had run into the morning hours when this rector, in simple, innocent expression of a prejudice he is unaware

he possesses, came up with this outburst: "Well, what can we expect of you! You are a resident of California, and you admit that your mother was a Virginian, and so you are also Southern!"

"And what, pray," I answered, "is wrong with the Virginian, that he may not think truly on great questions and be true to American interests? What state has done so much to make America what it is as has Virginia? Representative government was born in her House of Burgesses—the first assembly of its kind in the world. She holds the Cradle of Liberty, for within a few miles of where that mother was born, Patrick Henry raised his voice against the divine right of kings and the tyranny of George III. One of her sons, Thomas Jefferson, wrote the Declaration of Independence; another, George Washington, led the armies that won it; they with Madison, and Monroe, and Henry, and the Lees, framed the Constitution; Washington guided the Convention that adopted it, and all laboured until it was ratified by all the colonies. Virginia gave America twenty-four years out of the first twenty-eight years of Presidential direction of the young Government, fighting and winning the second war of Independence. The diplomacy and exploration of her sons like Thomas Jefferson and Rogers and Clark added more area to our national domain than was added by all our other statesmen combined; another, James Monroe, pronounced the doctrine which has preserved the Western Hemisphere from European exploitation and wars for a hundred years. Virginians, and their kindred people of the South, these are true Americans, preserving in blood, brain and spirit the pure material from which America was made. Welcome, all such, to California!"

In this crucifixion of a state, let its citizens look with forgiving grace upon the maligners, crying only, "Forgive them, they know not what they do."

Let us bring this unhappy chapter to an end in a truer, sweeter picture drawn by Frederick M. Davenport in his article in *The Outlook*, August 4, 1915, entitled "The Farthest Outpost of Advancing Democracy—California."

THE FARTHEST OUTPOST OF ADVANCING DEMOCRACY— CALIFORNIA

"The air and soil and far-flung resources and opportunity of blending of enterprising native stocks in the commonwealth of California have made already of the modest figure of the pioneer a strong, valiant, confident, conquering exponent of advancing democracy. The most definite impression which the California of the present day makes upon you is that of a tremendous physical and mental and an increasing moral vitality. There are many elements which make for unity. A very large proportion of the population is of the restless and enterprising pioneer strain which hails from the Eastern and Middle Western United States. Particularly in the southern part of California there are Kansas Societies and Iowa Societies and Massachusetts Societies, and many others, with memberships running far into thousands. They have not forgotten whence they sprang, but they are Californians to the core, and aggressive and united for a better economic and political and social order for their adopted state.

"But there is variety with the unity. You can trace in motion all the currents and the cross-currents of a powerful democratic empire. The men and the women of the second generation seem physically above the American average in stature and in strength, and the forces, both individual and social, which have been set in motion within this commonwealth are unquestionably fraught with potency for the whole country. And the result of the development there taking place is sure to have an important bearing upon the future of American democracy. . . .

"California now easily leads the long roll of our democratic commonwealths. Her climate, her resources, her vitality,

her mingling of sturdy native stocks, her enterprise, her opportunities for leisure, her liking for expert efficiency, her illuminating experience with the powers of political darkness, all fit her for a higher than Athenian citizenship. Certainly she has the capacity and the environment to be to the rest of the United States more than Athens was to the sister states of Greece."

CHAPTER X

THE APPEAL TO THE CHURCH

SIDNEY L. GULICK AND "THE NEW ORIENTAL POLICY"

Do one hundred thousand ministers of America know that they are committed en masse to a definite campaign to give the Japanese the rights of American citizenship?

Do seventeen million members of all our Christian denominations know that they are contributing regularly to promote the mixing of all Asiatics with our race in our country by means of citizenship, and social assimilation, the amount levied and paid annually being one dollar for each thousand members?

Do the political parties of America know that the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America, representing the aforesaid ministers and members, has adopted, presented to the government, and is promoting a definite program on immigration and Oriental relations completely reversing the present status, upon the conceptions of one man who for nearly thirty years has lived in Japan?

Do our one hundred million American people of all religions and no religion know that these one hundred thousand ministers and seventeen million members are being systematically schooled in this program and pledged to this campaign under the cloak of its being the only right interpretation of the Gospel of Jesus Christ?

Who is the man? What is the program? By whom and how is this campaign conducted?

Mr. Sidney L. Gulick, M. A., D.D., is the man. He gives his address as Japan, "professor in Doshisha University and lecturer in the Imperial University of

Kyoto."¹ He was born in 1860 in the Marshall Islands, of missionary parents, and reared in the Orient with adopted Oriental children whom he regarded as his kin. Educated in America, he returned to Japan about thirty years ago as a missionary. He is in love with Japanese ideals, has acquired the Japanese language, and has mastered their form of argumentation. He is the author of several books on the Japanese, all highly laudatory of their virtues and apologetic for their possible shortcomings. If he admits that truth and chastity and other virtues form little part of their moral code, he explains away those defects by blaming them on their origin, and overbalances the deficiency by other virtues for which they are alleged to surpass the world.

His most important volume on the American-Japanese problem is an arraignment of the intelligence and morality of the people of California and other states for recent legislation which affects the Japanese in America. But especially he outlines and promotes what he terms "A New Oriental Policy." Since January 1, 1914, while on a furlough from Japan, he has been in the employ of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ at a salary of three thousand dollars per year and expenses. His services consist in writing books, articles and tracts, and delivering addresses under the most influential auspices—all to promote his New Oriental Policy. These facts and those to follow are derived from his writings, from the Annual Reports of the Federal Council, and will be sustained by direct quotations therefrom.

What is this New Oriental Policy?

The quotations taken from his books will outline it sufficiently, although he uses twenty-five pages to outline it and about 280 pages to sustain it.

¹*The American Japanese Problem*—title page.

In his term Oriental are embraced "the eight hundred millions of Asia," about one-half of the population of the earth, all of whom under the laws of the United States are now and always have been aliens who cannot become citizens of the United States. This status of theirs is the concrete result of the wisdom of American statesmen for one hundred and twenty-five years, beginning with George Washington's first recommendation for a naturalisation code. Mr. Gulick says:

(1) "The present Oriental policy of the United States as a whole is in important respects humiliating to the Oriental and disgraceful to us."

(2) "We should grant the Asiatics in this land the same privileges which we grant to the citizens of 'the most favoured nations.' "

This would give the Chinese, Japanese, Hindoos, Syrians, Koreans, and all the Mongolians and Malays of Asia and its islands the full rights of American citizenship and equal social rights of intermarriage with the white race.

(3) "A new general immigration law is needed which shall apply impartially to all races. We must abandon all differential Asiatic treatment even as regards immigrants."

(4) "A fresh definition of eligibility for American citizenship is needed. Race should not be a disqualification of citizenship."

(5) "Direct Federal responsibility in all legal and legislative matters involving aliens is essential."

(6) "It logically follows that legal proceedings involving aliens should be handled exclusively in Federal and not in state courts."

This would require the total revision of the Constitution of the United States regarding functions of State and Nation, taking from the states and giving to the

nation all the rights of land laws, deeds, conveyances, leases and all laws of domestic relations of marriage, parentage, divorce, inheritance; and all business relations in which an alien may be a party; and an entire revision of our Judiciary pertaining to those.

It is thus seen that the New Oriental Policy pivots all American government, not upon our own citizens, but upon the viewpoint of the Oriental alien.

(7) "A national commission on biological and social assimilation is needed."

This is to establish his theories of intermarriage of races, "social inheritance" and "social assimilation," to which he devotes about a hundred pages. In one chapter toward the end of his treatise he declares himself opposed to intermarriage of races. Yet he approves all the individual instances—Japanese who have married white girls, mentioning Takamine, Fukushima, Oaki, Kawakami, all of whom he indorses and each of whom indorses him, and who are engaged in this campaign for race mixture. Kawakami, head of the Japanese Association of America, comes out openly for intermarriage and cites Dr. Gulick as one of the best friends of the Japanese cause. Dr. Gulick uses many pages of pictures to show the results of these marriages, and one hundred pages to prove the assimilability of Orientals. This form of argument, the academic denial of a general principle coupled with the hearty support of its concrete facts is a fair illustration of what President Charles W. Eliot calls Oriental dissimulation.

(8) "Regulation of international news should be an integral part of the New Oriental Policy. To suppress the suspicions, exaggeration, and even malicious fabrications of irresponsible news mongers—the Yellow Press is the real Yellow Peril."

Let the American Press take note.

Mr. Gulick says this New Oriental Policy will produce these results:

(a) "Existing anti-Japanese legislation in California and all other states would at once be void and all future legislation be impossible."

(b) It would provide for the "rights of aliens regardless of the ignorance and prejudice of unfriendly localities."

(c) "The Japanese government would be intensely gratified." "It would also satisfy and even please Japan."

(d) "America would rightly be called the 'melting pot of the nations,' from which we may expect the advent of astonishing variants. Would we not be gainers by including Asiatic ore in this great melting pot?"

(e) "The condition most favourable for race assimilation is that which arises when an alien father enters into the civilisation of the mother and is accepted by her kindred." "Where such ideal conditions can be assured, it would probably make no difference whether the father were Hindoo, Chinese, Japanese, Arab, or Negro."

(f) "The early adoption of some such policy is important; there is every reason to anticipate further anti-Japanese legislation in California with the next session of its Legislature, which meets in 1915."

One would not think that so radical and difficult a procedure would secure any serious indorsement by the great men of America. Mr. Gulick's book was printed in March, 1914, yet he wanted all this radical legislation completed before the California Legislature could meet in January, 1915, and he put into use the greatest piece of machinery for sentiment making there is on the continent—the entire Christian Church. How?

The Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America was organised about eight years ago. Its name describes it. It is an attempt to federate into a single

force all the Protestant denominations. Its Year Book for 1914, issued in March, 1915, page 4, gives the list of constituent churches, thirty denominations in all; Baptist, Christian, Congregational, Disciples, Friends, German-Evangelical, Lutheran, Mennonite, Methodist (all branches), African (all branches), Presbyterian, Episcopal, Reformed, United Brethren, and others.

They enumerate 103,023 ministers, 138,995 churches, 17,438,826 members. These denominations are assessed one dollar for each thousand members, and in 1914 this yielded nearly \$17,000. The total receipts from all sources for 1914 were about \$62,000.

It has a national office in New York with a secretary and assistant receiving \$6,200 per year salary. Its mailing list exceeds 75,000 names. It works through several Commissions or Committees. One of these created in April, 1914, is called "The Commission on Relations with Japan." There is no such commission for any other nation, but over one-fifth of the total funds expended in 1914 were used by this Commission on Relations with Japan.

Sidney L. Gulick began work for this Federal Council about January, 1914, and is now definitely engaged by it to promote what both Mr. Gulick and the Federal Council term "The New Oriental Policy."

Let us now establish several facts: (1) That those who engaged him knew his program. (2) That they gave it direct and full indorsement and made it their own. (3) That they have used the funds collected from these church members to promote this program, and are now using them. It will be demonstrated:

(A) That this use of Mr. Gulick and his program is a definite attempt to shape the political policies of America on many extremely vital, national and international questions.

(B) That Mr. Gulick and the Federal Council assault the intelligence and the morality of the people in those states having anti-Asiatic laws.

(C) That the Commission represents only a small section of the nation in its make-up and has exhibited partiality in its consideration of the problems involved.

(D) That the cross-lines of influence and the powers allied to promote this movement are great enough to affect seriously the action of the government and the political and social welfare of the United States.

Mr. Hamilton Holt is the acting chairman of the Commission on Relations with Japan and one of the five men who engaged Mr. Gulick. In the Annual Report referred to, from which I shall take all my quotations, Mr. Holt says: "WE RECOMMEND HIS VIEWS IN GENERAL to the people of the United States, to the President, the Secretary of State, the Secretary of Labor, Congress and Governor and Legislature of California."

The secretary of the Federal Council writes: "Japanese scholars, statesmen and diplomats have given its proposals cordial approval."

Fifty thousand ministers were asked to preach on Peace on May 17, 1914. The letter of instructions to them contains this sentence: "The Council has secured the services of Rev. Sidney L. Gulick of Japan to assist in the work directed by the Committee on Relations with Japan, which is to take up this question of international and race relationship from the point of view of the Christian Gospel. The plans of the committee are of great moment."

Again, the Commission sent "An Appeal to Congress and the People of the United States for an Adequate Oriental Policy," asking that they "adopt an Oriental Policy providing for comprehensive legislation covering all phases of the question, and providing for the naturalisation of immigrants."

Mr. Gulick was sent to Japan on January 9, 1915, bearing the message of the Federal Council to Japan, which contains this credential: "The Rev. Sidney L. Gulick, Doctor of Divinity, needs no introduction to you, for he was a missionary in Japan for many years. Since his return to America on his furlough he has been invited to our most prominent pulpits, has secured a hearing for the cause of Japan by the foremost men of our nation and returns to you not only as your Brother, but also is intrusted with a duty of representing the Federal Council."

Let us see how and to what extent this program of Mr. Gulick so adopted by the Federal Council et al., and so indorsed by Japan, has been promulgated. I submit the Report of the Secretary:

"Two pamphlets have been published giving an exposition of the main points of his New Oriental Policy."

"Some 20,000 of these pamphlets have been freely distributed."

"Ten thousand copies have been published for use during the coming winter (1915-1916)".

"*The Survey* syndicated one of his articles to 150 dailies."

"*The American Leader* published two articles which went to 650 foreign language papers published in the United States."

"The Federal Council syndicated an article to 500 religious and secular papers."

"The Church Peace Union sent copies of his 'Solution of America's Oriental Problem' to 10,000 ministers."

Fifty thousand ministers were asked to preach on "Peace", instructed as indicated above.

Dr. Gulick himself has delivered his message about one hundred and fifty times within the year in the great centres from Boston to the Pacific Coast, as arranged by

the Federal Council, with the finest auspices in universities, seminaries and clubs, including "the guest of honor at fifty banquets."

The Secretary of the Council makes this sensational appeal: "It is increasingly clear that we have entered upon this work none too soon." Our government "has by no means satisfied the Japanese people that we are meeting the issue." "Both on the Pacific Coast and in Japan the situation invites difficulty. It would take little to arouse bad feeling. We are living over a powder magazine. No one knows when some one will touch a match."

Let us now have a look at the composition of this Commission on Relations with Japan in the Federal Council. It has fifteen members. Eight of them live in New York City. Two of them live in New Haven, Connecticut. Fourteen of them are east of the Rocky Mountains. The remaining member is Rev. Doremus E. Scudder of Honolulu, who, like Mr. Gulick, thirty years ago became a missionary in Japan and Oriental countries. Mr. Scudder long since declared himself strongly pro-Japanese and is quoted by the Japanese in their attacks on California, in which he joins.

Not one of the Pacific Coast States is represented in this Commission, nor is any state which has an Oriental problem or even a race problem. The Pacific Coast is entitled to a large representation on this Commission, unless it proposes that New York City shall control the destinies of ten millions of people directly interested in a part of America three thousand miles from the program-making centre. As three-fourths of all the Japanese in America are in California, that state is entitled to a large representation on that Commission if America and the Christian Church are to maintain representative governments.

A few laymen of these churches also should be per-

mitted to shape the politics of this Commission. On the Commission at present are eight ministers, two more are heads of Missionary Boards, and four others preach. To offset Hamilton Holt, Sidney L. Gulick, Doremus E. Scudder and Charles S. McFarland, who are avowed champions of Japan, and who are advocates of the "great melting pot," let an equal number of Christian gentlemen be chosen who are as avowedly the champions of racial purity.

As a further instance of partisan procedure, I wish to cite one more fact. The Annual Report referred to says that the Federal Council has secured "Professor H. A. Millis, of the University of Kansas, to visit the Pacific Coast to make a special study of the Japanese situation. His report is now in the process of preparation." As this report is widely distributed and used as a basis for further action, let us see who Mr. Millis is.

In 1913, just after the California law was passed, Mr. Millis was asked by *The Survey* (which syndicated Mr. Gulick's propaganda) to write a "distinctive interpretation of the social aspects of the situation." Mr. Millis published his report in *The Survey* of June 7, 1913. He set down his verdict in the opening paragraph and repeated it as his final word. It is this: "This measure, in the opinion of the writer, is unjust, unnecessary and impolitic." He also says, "This action of the people of California is not to be explained in the light of reason." And now this same judge who had rendered this verdict two years ago, whose bias they apparently knew, was asked by the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America to render another judgment upon the same people, in the same case, with the intention to print and distribute this "special study" and "report" to mould American opinion. Is it fair? Is this investigation? Is this the work of the Federal Council?

This campaign for a New Oriental Policy is strengthened by a great web of cross influences. Mr. Gulick dedicated his book on the New Oriental Policy to "Andrew Carnegie and his co-workers." Mr. Gulick's books are listed and distributed and his policies recommended by The World Peace Foundation of Boston, The American Peace Society of Washington, and The Church Peace Union of New York, the latter two of which are beneficiaries of The Carnegie Endowment for International Peace.

I believe that the New Oriental Policy of Sidney L. Gulick is in nature and function wholly political and entirely without relation to the spiritual mission of the Churches of Christ. I believe that the Christian Churches have not adopted it, and that the mass of their ministers and members who now unknowingly are paying for it, will repudiate it. I believe that this entire Oriental campaign in the United States will be opposed by the whole American people when they know of it and see where it will lead. I believe that for both races there are higher, purer destinies than this program will attain. I believe that it will lead America from her goal as a land of PEACE, the home of Americans and their children's children, and should it prevail, I believe that its ultimate end will be as evil as if it had been planned by traitors to both Church and Country.

Do Americans know?

CHAPTER XI

THE APPEAL TO FACTS

THE FEDERAL COUNCIL ORDERS A BOOK UPON WHICH THE CAMPAIGN IS BASED

“THE Commission on Relations with Japan appointed by The Federal Council of the Churches of Christ *at the request of the missionaries in Japan*, believing that its most immediate need was that of correct information, engaged the expert service of Professor H. A. Millis to go to the Pacific Coast and make such investigation as would enable the Commission¹ to proceed with intelligent sympathy in the performance of its task,” and “authorises the publication of this report of Professor Millis for the purpose of placing this information before the churches and the people of the United States.”

So says the preface of the book Mr. Millis wrote for them. How many of these books have been distributed is not announced. The Japan Society of New York sent one thousand copies to presidents of American colleges and others; apparently it voices the sentiments of that Society. It is intended to be the authority in statistics and opinion upon which the whole campaign is to rest and therefore it is very important. It is fortunate that that is true.

This book is well done. It covers many subjects so completely that the same ground need not be gone over again. Its contents fall into two columns—facts and Mr. Millis’s opinions; there are also some “interpretations,”

¹Commission on Relations with Japan.

and "prophecies," but all these, too, belong in his opinion column.

The statistical facts are accurate in the main. The sources of such information are simple and open to all—the Reports on Immigration; the Japanese-American Year Book; Records of the Legislature; Census, Labor, Agricultural and Commercial Reports; and Mr. Millis inserts the essays of Japanese students in the State. All this part of the work could have been compiled as well in Washington or in Lawrence.

Other facts, such as the sentiments and opinions held by the people of the States of Idaho, Washington, Colorado, Oregon and California, which he reports, make up a large part of his book.¹ These opinions are facts, just as important as are statistics, which must be considered in the case. But these facts are not secured by an investigator so quickly or so easily, and the reader must judge how fully and accurately Mr. Millis could get them in the brief period which he devoted to California, for instance, with

¹The author of this book is willing to accept Mr. Millis's report of these opinions and sentiments at face value in most cases. His own right to interpret them, especially those of California, where Mr. Millis says the whole problem centres, is based on his personal experience. He began his study of that country in 1887 when, as a delegate representing an Ohio College at the International Convention of the Y. M. C. A., he spent a month in the State; from 1897 to 1907 he spent a few weeks each year on the Pacific Coast in such capacity as to meet the best people of many communities; in 1907-08 he made an investigation of farm lands and irrigation projects in western states, particularly in California, Colorado and Idaho. Since then he has lived in California, visiting every part of it, participating in the affairs of Church, School and State, and as a rancher interested as owner in citrus nurseries and orange and lemon groves, has been an employer of Japanese, Mexicans and others. His observation and experience cover, therefore, the whole period of development of this problem, from the time when there were only about one thousand Japanese in the United States.

its nearly three millions of people and its territory nine hundred miles long!

The other column of matter in Mr. Millis's book is made up of his own opinions on a great number of items. These expressions can be taken only as the opinions of one man and he not *en rapport* with the people he is investigating.

There are on the Pacific Coast a hundred thousand men and a hundred thousand women whose education, experience and honour entitle their opinions, each one, to equal consideration with his, and whose knowledge of the soul of the people, which comes only from long, sympathetic contact, is in every case superior to his. And of this group, he says, "the majority of business men, publicists and professional men are opposed by an overwhelming majority" to the very opinions and policies which Mr. Gulick and Mr. Kawakami espouse and which the Federal Council of Churches and the Japan Society of New York are promoting.

But there is a great surprise in this book. It makes a stronger case for the people of the western states than any one of them has yet produced. It squarely contradicts many of the statements and alleged facts of Mr. Gulick and Mr. Kawakami and overthrows the whole structure of their arguments.

Gulick and Kawakami said that the Japanese had not been especially clannish, forming Asiatic communities encysted in America.

Mr. Millis shows that they have been so beyond other colonists because they are inherently clannish.¹ "They are peculiar in the degree of clannishness which obtains among them and are in contrast to the Chinamen, the American, and the European in the weakness of the indi-

vidualistic spirit.”¹ He quotes a former consul and admirer of Japan saying, “its history and activity is interpreted from the view of the clan, and they could never become loyal to any country as against their own country. Their intense patriotism is merely the ‘larger clan idea.’” Mr. Millis concludes that enlargement of their population would tend to make Asiatics more and more clannish communities “encysted” in America.

Gulick and Kawakami said that they did not underbid or eliminate white labour to any special degree.

Mr. Millis shows that they did, specifying many cases and facts in Colorado, Washington and California. “The primary motive for emigration with this race has always been economic. Japanese have not left their homeland to avoid religious and economic persecution.”² “Most of the Japanese who have emigrated have done so for the sake of economic gain, and with the intention of returning to Japan. Only a few have ceased to look back to their native land.”³ “The underbidding of white men was all but, if not quite, universal.”⁴ He shows that they were more strongly organised under “bosses” than any other labourers and after they had eliminated white labour so that it had left the locality, they used their strong combine to raise their own wages until they equalled the wages of those they had displaced.

Mr. Gulick and Mr. Kawakami said they maintain to a degree the American standards of living and labour.

Mr. Millis says they do not and have been able to eliminate white competition in labour, leasing, ownership and marketing, because they compete on a lower standard of living, housing and subsistence, using longer hours for

¹Page 248.

²Page 8.

³Page 254.

⁴Page 111.

labour, and seven days of the week; that they have an advantage over the white farmer in hiring Japanese help; and a "great advantage in the work done by their wives, who almost invariably labour in the fields for long hours, and frequently seven days per week."¹ "The average American assumes that wives should not work regularly at the chief gainful pursuit of the family."² In the case of the often cited box factory at Florin he says, "At first most of the employees were white women and girls of the community. They were rapidly displaced by Japanese (women) because the white women did not wish to work more than ten hours per day, or work overtime or on Sundays."³

Mr. Gulick and Mr. Kawakami said that lower standards, if any, had been forced upon them.

Mr. Millis says that they brought these standards with them from a lower standard country.

Mr. Gulick and Mr. Kawakami said that they had developed from the raw largely the lands they now occupy.

Mr. Millis is able to show but one instance of any importance in one district where they have developed lands never used before, but in most localities and altogether so in Southern California, they occupy lands long under cultivation and except in devoting this land to more intensive use the "contribution they have made can be exaggerated."

Mr. Gulick and Mr. Kawakami say that they have developed new industries and made others possible.

Mr. Millis says in agriculture they have done no work in which white men have not been engaged and in every case where they have quit any section, or any labour, the

¹Page 187, also 141.

²Page 194.

³Page 155.

interests have advanced without loss; that after the number of Japanese labourers was cut down in 1907 the average development of the state and expansion in acreage of crops went right on at the same rate as before.

Mr. Gulick says they have contributed largely to the wealth and development of the State.

Mr. Millis shows that they have not brought any wealth or capital with them; that they have made their economic advance on "other people's money" by the extremely "easy" terms of leasing; that the lessor frequently advanced expenses; that their present wealth has all been taken out of American soil and industry and that the Japanese expect to go back to Japan and take it with them.

Mr. Gulick and Mr. Kawakami said their entrance and presence in any community does not decrease realty values or the desirability of white men to live in it.

Mr. Millis says that it does in the beginning; that realty values afterward rise by the competition of Japanese among themselves for land; and furthermore their presence destroys the very basis of increase of values so far as white men are concerned by effectually stopping the coming of any more whites into that locality. That is the settler's hope of growth of values in new states.

Mr. Gulick and Mr. Kawakami say, and make a great argument out of it, that even in the most condensed Japanese communities their white neighbours were opposed to the anti-alien land legislation.

Mr. Millis says that in the very instance which Mr. Gulick cited, at Florin, his statement cannot be accepted; and that generally the reverse was true; and that, with a few exceptions, the people prayed the Legislature to make the formation of any more communities like theirs impossible, no matter what the economics of the case might be; and that this is the feeling of all classes in all industries

and everywhere, citing cases in Seattle as well as in California.

Mr. Gulick and Mr. Kawakami said (and all who follow them, especially Hamilton Holt) that the small ratio of Japanese labour to total labour, and their small holdings compared to total holdings made them a practically negligible influence.

Mr. Millis shows that industrially they are a far greater factor than their numbers would indicate; that their organisation and methods made them a force to be reckoned with in every industry they enter, whether agricultural or commercial, as producers or marketers, in country and city.

Mr. Gulick and Mr. Kawakami said that California and other western states have great need of Japanese labour and suffer without it.

Mr. Millis says California has an over supply of labourers, that no Japanese are needed, that no more are wanted and that when any withdraw, white men and Mexicans take their places with no rise in cost and no loss in production.

Mr. Gulick and Mr. Kawakami said that the white farmers desire to hold and increase the Japanese element in agricultural labour.

Mr. Millis shows that in all his survey in only one instance, and that was a large capitalistic enterprise, did he find any more Asiatics wanted, and then only at rush seasons, and then the Chinese, not the Japanese, were preferred. That in all cases the farmers, while using on a friendly basis those that are here, are a unit against any more Japanese coming or entering agriculture. And the same holds in all kinds of business, in camp, town and city, even to the instance of two ship captains who held to rigid exclusion.

Mr. Gulick and Mr. Kawakami say the Japanese are

held by all, excepting a few prejudiced labour leaders, as equal in honour to the Chinese, and preferred to them for general reasons.

Mr. Millis declares that the Chinese are proverbially of absolute dependability in all contractual and business relations; that the Japanese have not been and have no such reputation; that against them there is very general complaint and suspicion in all states where they have been tried; and that there is evidence to justify this status in the experiences and dealings of white men with them.

Mr. Gulick and Mr. Kawakami say that the anti-Japanese sentiment was created by disreputable men in discreditable organisations and is held only by the ignorant and prejudiced, and that the Anti-Alien Land Law of 1913 does not represent the sentiment of the best people of the State; and that the anti-Japanese sentiment is dying out.

Mr. Millis shows exactly the opposite; that this law was the culmination of fifteen years of growing conviction with creditable people all over the state in all industries which the Japanese had entered; and that the "overwhelming majority of business men, professional men and publicists," as well as the farmers and labour organisations, now approve the law and stand firmly against any relaxation of present restrictions on Asiatic advance.

Mr. Gulick and Mr. Kawakami said that social opposition to intermarriage of Asiatics and whites was held but lightly and that the Miscegenation Bill had little reason to exist.

Mr. Millis reports that a firm opposition to race mixture is, in nearly all cases, the very first argument presented against any further immigration of Asiatics or extension of greater privileges to Japanese, and that antagonism to it is strong and universal.

Mr. Gulick and Mr. Kawakami maintain, and the whole

pro-Japanese campaign maintains, that a better understanding of the real Japanese character will dissolve all opposition worth noticing, and that social and racial amalgamation will then become complete.

Mr. Millis says that while the people are generously at peace with the Japanese, employing them, buying and selling with them, holding no individual personal malice, —the racial repulsions are very great; that these are legitimately grounded in fundamental, essential differences which are the results of long years of different life, different ideals and different race instincts; and that present conditions will be more highly accentuated, and present objections intensified, should present limitations be removed.

Mr. Gulick and Mr. Kawakami said that the children of intermarriages of American and Japanese are so American they cannot be distinguished from American children; and that all Japanese are quickly and easily Americanised, and if given a chance they would soon become wholly assimilated and absorbed as Americans.

Mr. Millis says of these children: "In physical appearances an American is likely to regard them as decidedly Japanese," and we shall later on see why that must be. His statements on assimilation of Japanese are important.

"For centuries these races have lived and moved in different environments. Different types of mind, a somewhat different outlook on life, somewhat different attitudes toward government, somewhat different attitudes toward the family and other institutions have resulted."¹

"Centuries spent in different environments have produced deep-seated dissimilarity. The assimilation of Japanese involves more change than does that of most, if

not all, of the European races represented upon American soil.”¹

“The question whether the members of this race could, under favourable circumstances, be Americanised in all respects must remain a disputed one.”²

“One thing cannot be a matter of dispute. Without a narrowly restricted immigration and with a considerable influx of Japanese the desired degree of assimilation could not take place. However great the capacity of the immigrants for Americanisation, the competition which would develop combined with present elements in the situation would prevent it.”³

After saying that the points in which Japanese show assimilation are superficial and of little consequence, he asks,—“but what of certain fundamentals? The central ideas in the thought of those who maintain that the Japanese cannot be Americanised appear to be that their colour imposes an impossible barrier between the races, that their religious conceptions cannot be overturned, their clannishness broken down, and their extreme loyalty to Japan transferred to another government.”⁴

Then comes the second surprise in this investigation and “report.” From these facts he finds a verdict against the people of California!! His verdict is, “In the opinion of the writer the Alien-Land Law is unjust, impolitic and unnecessary.” That verdict rendered by him and published in 1913⁵ was his apparent credential to the Federal Council and made him acceptable to them. He said then and elaborates now these reasons: “It is unjust because it permits a state to discriminate against aliens under a Fed-

¹Page 253.

²Page 271.

³Page 272.

⁴Page 266.

⁵*The Survey*, June 7, 1913.

eral law. It is unnecessary because there are no vast hordes now coming to our shores. It is impolitic because it raises the whole question of immigration restriction and that should be avoided as it will cause trouble."

These are the excuses of those who postpone all difficulties for future generations to meet. They are low in standard and utterly untenable. If it be unjust to foreign races for an American state to live and take refuge under Federal law, then we must conclude that that Federal law is unjust and that all Federal action under it is and has been unjust, and that we must remove those Federal laws; and we must change that Federal action to offer the same paternal care over Asia as over America. If it be unnecessary because there are no great hordes of Asiatics coming into America, then Americans must determine all causes, not by kind and character, but by quantity; forgetting the very spirit of America, the spirit that created Liberty and Independence; the spirit of those Colonial Dames of the Carolinas who refused to drink tea so long as it was taxed; and of those prophetic men of Massachusetts who threw the tea into Boston harbour; and of all who arose against taxation without representation—*not because that taxation was great in quantity but because it was wrong in principle.*

He calls this law impolitic because it raises the whole question of restricting immigration, and that should be avoided as it would cause trouble.¹ That is the plaint of the sleeping sluggard who desires to sleep, only to sleep a little longer, while sleepless foreign nations hedge us round with difficulties until they become too great for us ever to surmount them.

Mr. Millis' present reason for its being impolitic is that it will cause commercial loss to America. This is the

¹*The Survey*, June, 1913.

basest argument of all. Here we descend to a mere question of dollars and cents, weighing national welfare forever against the possible money gain of a day. What irony it is to report such a reason to the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ; for this is the precise argument that sells a birthright for a mess of pottage and once upon a time it betrayed the Christ to his enemies for thirty pieces of silver.

This verdict of Mr. Millis, set against the action of nearly three millions of representative Americans in California, against the Constitution of the State of Washington and the laws of other states, is strongly forced and out of harmony with the facts. But it is the finding he made in June, 1913, and it is quite natural that he should confirm it.

The most striking feature of these pro-Japanese books is the great effort the authors make to explain away the facts which make their case a weak one. These accountings, which seem plausible to the sentimental class for which the books are written, to one who knows the truth are farcical, even to burlesque. Mr. Millis explains why the Japanese have made so complete a failure with the people by whom they have been tried: "The Japanese inherited the prejudice against the Chinese; a powerful factor is that the immigration of the Japanese followed that of the Chinese. The whole history of the Japanese in this country has been coloured by that fact."¹ After making as bad a case for the Chinese as he can,¹ detailing what they had done to be discredited by Americans and the low esteem in which they stood, he adds: "Then came the Japanese. What wonder, though they were vastly different peoples, that the Japanese should be set down in the same category as the Chinese."²

¹Page 240.

²Page 241.

This explanation is fantastic. Three well known facts strip it bare.

The first is that before the Japanese influx came the Chinese problem had been settled by the Exclusion Treaty of 1880, and the laws passed by Congress that grew out of it in 1882, 1884 and 1888. The agreement with China accepting the situation had been friendly; the acts limited to ten years were regularly extended, and were sure to be renewed, Chinamen were rapidly going home, California had adjusted its mind and industries to the conditions, and saw in *Exclusion* a satisfactory end of the whole Asiatic question.

Then came the Japanese. Before 1900 there were less than 15,000 all told in America. Then began the influx. In 1900 alone nearly 13,000 arrived; in 1907 when the Gentleman's Agreement was entered into over 60,000 more had come and California herself had nearly 60,000 of them; by 1910 they numbered approximately 75,000 on the Pacific Coast, and practically all of these, as the statistics show, were men.

Secondly, this period, 1900-1910, was the very time when America was in the height of her admiration for the Japanese. The fatuous favour for the "little brown brother" coloured every phrase. In their sudden attack and defeat of China in 1894-5 when Japan came out of her old exclusion and began the march toward Empire, the Japanese had won the unqualified admiration of those Americans whose shibboleth is success. The morality, or lack of it in the act, was excused. Japan was a sort of protégé of the United States and the young ward was proving the mettle of his sponsor. Then had followed the daring attack on Russia—and Victory! Who then dared to say aught against them? They were ranked by all America as infinitely superior to the Chinese. No immigrant ever entered an alien land so heralded, so favoured,

so petted. And the east, having had no experience with them since, is still in that mental state.

The final fact is that during those same years—1900-1910—in which the Japanese were coming into California, the Pacific states received their largest arrivals of residents from eastern states. California added 892,476, an increase of 60.1 per cent. The census of 1910 showed an increase in western cities and states that amazed the nation. In the very cities where later developed the most objection to the Japanese—Seattle, San Francisco and Los Angeles—the percentage of increase was wonderful. Los Angeles County had increased 196 per cent. Los Angeles City had grown to 310 per cent. of 1900, her population having added in those ten years a city the full size of Denver or Minneapolis. Seattle, Portland, Oakland, Sacramento had increased net gains of double; and San Francisco despite the earthquake and fire was twenty-five per cent. larger.

The significant fact in all this is that these great thousands from the east all brought their highly coloured pro-Japanese sentiment with them. I cannot remember a single instance of a “newcomer” to whom I spoke who did not diffuse with Japanese praise. From all these newcomers surely the Japanese had inherited no Chinese handicap. These are the facts upon which we must predicate the present opinion of western people. The Japanese thus began with a great advance credit over any the Chinese ever had and they were not considered in the same class with Chinese. A few years of the experience of contact, and lo! the relative estimates are reversed! Why?

Mr. Millis explained it, although he didn't expect another interpretation to be used:—“They are vastly different peoples,” these Chinese and Japanese, in their relations with the American people. The Chinese lived in distinct

communities, but they dealt with white men as individuals. The Japanese are community workers—organized, registered in Japanese headquarters, officered, ruled by their boss with absolute command; they are of the clan, in which only the whole counts, and back of these clans stands the Imperial Government. The Chinese are content to maintain the rank of their homeland or to rise by steady growth; the Japanese at once coveted the highest industrial and political rank—higher than they ever could have had at home, and equal to any here. The Chinese made slight offensive movement against Americans; the Japanese are always on the offensive. The Chinese were tractable and docile; the Japanese are bold and aggressive. Mr. Millis admits—"The Chinese are notoriously honest in all contractual relations." The Japanese have a "rather weakly developed sense of contract." The Chinese were honest and dependable; the Japanese were crafty, subtle, tricky and untrustworthy. The Chinese asserted no racial superiority over other Asiatics. The Japanese held themselves infinitely above the Chinese and Koreans, and wholly repelled the negro. The Chinese aspired to no social equality or familiar domestic relations with white families. The Japanese coveted the finest white girls in our best families and used strange arts to win them, which far outdid methods of Jacob in his labours for Rachael, and put fathers of white girls on the defensive.

Finally, and in its evil effects and prophetic warnings more than any one difference, is the contrast in the attitudes of the Chinese and Japanese governments toward their subjects in America. China accepted our Oriental policy with full recognition of the sovereign rights of nations to admit or exclude any people in any numbers on its own terms; Chinese subjects did not report petty grievances at home; there was no Pekin interference in California or at Washington, D. C. A permanent under-

standing had been reached and peace with Asia was assured.

The attitude of Japan is vastly different. Mr. Millis admits: "The relation between the Japanese government and its subjects on foreign soil is a peculiarly intimate one. In no other instance is it so close."¹ "In California her emigrants have been treated, it would appear, almost as colonists. Certain obligations were laid upon the emigration companies (who brought them to America) to care for those emigrants through them. Appeals to the government at home have been frequent and the response has been quickly made."² There is a decisive fact. The Japanese settlements in California are the colonies of Japan—they are doubly protected by our laws and by Japan's parental espionage. And when we said, "Please, Japanese, we do not want any more of you," their government said, "But we want more of you, a great deal more," and they began to turn the nation upside down against us.

These are the facts that reversed the initial acceptance of the Japanese; froze the sentimental support of the "newcomers" from the east; and brought against any further Japanese colonisation and extension upon our lands thirty-five Senators out of the thirty-seven, and seventy-two representatives out of seventy-five, and a Governor, who is the highest type of American patriot. Mr. Millis himself, feeling the force of these facts, ends his investigation and report thus: "It must be made emphatic that any discussion of measures interpreted as favourable to Asiatics, whether relating to immigration or naturalisation, will meet with great opposition on the Pacific Coast. A worse situation than that which obtains

¹Pages 249 and 270.

²Page 244.

may easily be imagined. The greatest factors in solving problems are time and mutual understanding. Governments should avoid drifting into policies which create problems."

CHAPTER XII

THE APPEAL TO SOCIAL INFLUENCE

THE JAPAN SOCIETY OF NEW YORK AND ITS ALLIES

THE Japan Society of New York stands with the Commission on Japan of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in quality of membership and sweep of influence. It was organised in 1907, after the first conflict which the United States had with Japan, by a group in New York City, headed by Mr. Lindsay Russell, President of the Board of Directors of *The Independent*, and Hamilton Holt, its editor. Both of these gentlemen have been shown distinction by the Japanese Government. Mr. Holt, in a Lyceum circular announcing his lectures, says that in 1909 he was decorated by the Mikado with the Order of the Sacred Treasure. The society has a membership of nine hundred Americans and one hundred Japanese; among the latter are Japanese officials in America, Japanese editors, publicists and business men of wealth and social distinction.

The presence of these Japanese makes impossible in this Society a free discussion of the Japanese-American problem and prohibits a hearing to those who oppose the aggressions and policies of Japan. The Society is richly supported. A patron pays one thousand dollars a year. Life memberships are \$200; resident members, (within 40 miles of New York) \$10 per year. Non-resident members, \$5 per year. It sometimes publishes lists of donors of special gifts of \$100 to \$500. Its yearbook, announcing its \$1,000 patrons (all American millionaires) and other members, is the most exquisite published in

America. It would be impossible to find in any centre of America or grouped within any one organisation of equal number a list of names so well known for wealth and social prominence. Its roster is open to any acceptable person anywhere and the glamour of its membership and its great dinners with marvellous Japanese decorations are drawing to it a clientage whose social appeal is irresistible. In a recent list of thirty-three names proposed by members for membership, *there were represented twelve American states and Japan itself*. This Society spends about ten thousand dollars a year in pro-Japanese propaganda.

Of this membership, wealthy and powerful, the majority evidently have been moved to join by sentimental appeal, without a knowledge of the Japanese movement, without suspecting the radical changes which will come to our country should that Society achieve its main purpose. Just as the rank and file of the ministers and members of the Christian Churches are unaware of the real meaning of the Gulick movement, so these but follow that small group of pro-Japanese men who lead them and *who, it develops, are almost exactly the same in both organisations*. *A founder of the Japan Society of New York, the founder and chairman of the Japan Commission of the Federal Council, is the same man, Hamilton Holt*.

Now there is no Japanese or Oriental problem in New York or the Atlantic Coast. Why should Americans in New York City interest themselves thus in Japan instead of India, China, Belgium, France or other nations? The Japan Society answers, "For the promotion of friendly relations between the United States and Japan, and the diffusion among the American people of a more accurate knowledge of Japan, their aims, ideals, arts, sciences, industries and economic conditions."

But why so great an interest in Japan over countries of Christian aims, arts, sciences, industries and economics

which are developed far beyond those of Japan—such as England, Germany and France? There are thousands of citizens of these countries in New York; or of Italy, Russia and Austria whose hundreds of thousands of immigrants give New York a real cause to study racial problems? They again repeat “To interpret Japan to America—to educate public opinion in America.” The last clause is the whole answer. But they present only the cherry-blossom side: they omit equal emphasis of that other large side which should enter into any impartial survey. But should they tell all, it would give a colour to public opinion which they do not desire; theirs is no academic education: it is a special plea for Japan, moulding public opinion to grant to Japanese the rights of immigration, citizenship and social opportunity in the United States.

It outlines its organisation of this work as follows: “Its aims are accomplished through the facilities of a lecture bureau; a bureau of information; an entertainment committee, extending hospitality in the form of dinners, luncheons and receptions to distinguished visitors; a bureau of travel, through which information on Japan is supplied to prospective tourists, letters of introduction issued, etc.; the publication of a monthly bulletin and the publication from time to time of books and pamphlets which reflect public opinion in the two countries.”

Thus they educate public opinion with a vast sowing of literature. The monthly bulletin of 3,000 copies goes regularly to its 1,000 members, “*to 1,000 libraries, 500 editors, 500 college presidents, commercial bodies and United States Senators.*”

It is a distributing agent for all radical pro-Japanese books and makes them to order from time to time. Dr. Gulick’s books are indorsed and promoted by its members. The Society also helped in the distribution, gratis,

of *The Japanese Problem in the United States* by Professor H. A. Millis to the extent of 1,000 copies. The first copy seen by the writer was in the hands of the President of a State University of the Northeast, stamped in green ink, "Presented by the Japan Society of New York." Measure this influence if you can.

At about the same time it says, "A new phase of the Society's activities was the *publication and distribution in this country of two books, unique in international relations—Japan's Message to America, and America's Message to Japan*. These volumes were made up of essays by representative citizens of Japan and America and were intended to reflect the opinion of the general public in the two countries."¹ So says their statement.

But these books do not truly represent public opinion in either country. Let us see.

The Japan Society of New York has organised an Advisory Council or joint society in Japan itself "to co-operate with the parent organisation"¹ in America. Its Japanese head is Baron Shibusawa. When the common membership of these two organisations is kept in mind, we can understand the vogue of certain widely heralded "banquets," "receptions" and "dinners" given to Japanese and Americans travelling in both countries. They seem to spring spontaneously out of general regard and public opinion; but they are merely play and counterplay of two parts of one club for one end. It will also help you to understand how it was that *the Japan Society of New York gave "a dinner in conjunction with the Federal Council of Churches, The Church Peace Union and the New York Peace Society, to Dr. Shailer Mathews and Dr. Sidney L. Gulick"*² after their return from Japan. Do you observe how wide a group of societies are thus

¹*America to Japan*, page 111.

²Statement by The Japan Society.

correlated in Japan's interest? There would seem to be no community of interests between these very different organisations; it is discovered in the fact that *the same men hold the positions of control in them all*.

Now it is the members of these two sister Japan Societies, one in New York and the other in Japan, and their friends in these other co-operating societies who have written and distributed the two books they have published. These books represent not public opinion, but pro-Japanese sentiment. To lend weight to these books, some names, like that of Theodore Roosevelt, are included, signed to some statement expressing a general view on general good will, treaty-making, universal peace, but which are non-committal on Japan's appeal for American citizenship. However, these names carry large weight of influence to the readers of the books, and they are thus made to seem to indorse all that the other contributors stand for.

California and the Western people receive a hard reckoning in these books. The whole gamut of argument and sentiment outlined in Chapter IX are played upon. Rights of immigration and citizenship for Japanese are asked for plainly by the Japanese and urged by the American contributors. And the Society says this "unique international intercourse, and these books are sent forth *on their mission to educate American opinion*."

You will note the fine psychology in the distribution of these books as follows: "Three thousand copies of *Japan's Message to America* were distributed as follows:

	COPIES
To Public Libraries.....	1,000
To Editors.....	500
To Members of Congress.....	600
To College Presidents.....	400
To Commercial Organisations and Public Officials	500

"A number of these copies were placed in the Pacific Coast states among commercial organisations, libraries, editors, etc., to counteract the existing prejudice against the Japanese.

"Practically the same ground was covered by sending out 4,000 copies of *America's Message to Japan*. In addition 500 copies were sent to Japan."

So when our boys and girls in high schools are hunting for material with which to debate the Japanese problem, they find gratis in our Libraries some or all of the following books:

Books by Sidney L. Gulick, who in himself represents the Japanese, the Japan Societies, the Peace Societies and the Christian Church pro-Japanese movement.

Books by K. K. Kawakami, manager of one of the Japanese Press Bureaus in America.

Books by H. H. Millis, made for the Federal Council of Churches as a basis for its pro-Japanese campaign.

Books by the Japan Society of New York, prepared as above described.

The Bulletin, edited by the Japanese Society.

This literary campaign, which they claim is so successful that many libraries had loaned these books as many as fifteen times in a few weeks, is supplemented by direct solicitation through travel and personal work. Representatives of the society were sent recently into thirty cities of sixteen different states in which about two hundred persons were interviewed. The persons approached included officers of commercial bodies, editors, educators, librarians and others.

The Japan Society of New York is an open confederate of the Japanese press bureaus in our country, which I shall discuss in full in another chapter. One of these press bureaus is located in New York City; its editors are members of the Japan Society; it is supported by money that

comes from Japan.¹ The Japan Society itself issues an official monthly journal called "The Bulletin." "The Bulletin" attacks men who write anything uncomplimentary to Japan or which might sound a discordant note in the education of public opinion in Japan's behalf. I take from this "Bulletin" an editorial urging the members of the Japan Society to become subscribers to the Japanese Press Bureau *and to pay for material which that bureau distributes gratis elsewhere.*

"Subscribe for the News Bulletin"

"For nearly a year past the East and West News Bureau has issued a weekly Bulletin. It is composed of condensed news items of the highest interest, culled from the latest newspapers and other publications of Japan. It is edited with the view of republication in the American press and is received by about 300 papers throughout the country.

"It is now proposed to extend the service to members of the Japan Society who will contribute one dollar a year for the purpose—a sum covering postage and printing. For this amount they will keep abreast of the progress of events in the Japanese Empire without the strain of much reading. Forward one dollar to the East and West News Bureau, and your name will be placed on the East and West mailing list. Do it now."

A thousand Americans to be swayed by the wand of Japanese arguments! A thousand dollars to be added annually to the treasury of a Japanese Press Bureau for gratis material in Japan's interest! A fine instance of American gullibility!

A few sentences from one editorial will give the flavour of the Bulletin of the Japan Society:

"We are continually hearing of 'the Japanese problem

¹A statement by Hamilton Holt.

in the United States' but for every problem Japan has given us we have given her a far larger number in return."

"Apparently Japan has an American problem: the Japanese problem in America becoming insignificant in comparison."

"Wherever Japan has sought ingress admission has been denied her. Canada and Alaska are closed to her as is the United States."

"Since we are not helping Japan solve her problems in America *while we continue to deny her the equality of other immigrants* why should we endeavour to keep her out of China, her logical field for expansion, as long as she maintains the Policy of the Open Door?"

I wonder what Japan's American problem is? Certainly it is not an exodus of Americans into Japan. Carl Crow,¹ who lived in Japan several years as a member of the editorial staff of a newspaper, gives the following statement:

"The American population of Japan is about 1,700; the total American and European population of the country being less than 10,000.

"Of the American population probably one-half may be classed as missionaries, members of missionaries' families, teachers or members in some capacity of the diplomatic and consular services.

"There are also a number not engaged in any occupation who make Japan their home.

"Certainly *less than one-third* are making their living in Japan in the sense that they derive their income directly or indirectly from the Japanese.

"*More than one-half*, though living in the country *are supported by salaries paid in America*.

"The Japanese population of the United States (main-

¹ "Japan and America—A Contrast."

land) is about 100,000, practically all of whom derive a living from America and in competition with Americans."

The Japan Society does not tell the whole truth about Japan. They engage T. Iyenaga, a professional publicity agent of Japan, head of her press bureau, to give a series of lectures to "Interpret the Far East"; and M. Anesaka to interpret "Religious Movements in Modern Japan."

But when have they given lectures or distributed books or displayed pictures to show that Japan is a pagan nation and proud of it; to show Japan's adoption of Shintoism or ancestor worship as their religion forever; their lack of morality judged by American standards; the fearful attitude of their men toward womanhood; the absence of love as the basis of marriage; their acceptance of prostitution and concubinage; their fearful use of women and girls in industry; the facts and causes of their excessive suicides and homicides; their subsidized industries, owned by the Emperor and others who vote the subsidies, which raised by taxation, come straight to them; their military and imperialistic policy and program; their control and abridgment of the work of missionary teachers; their brutality toward Koreans; their scorn of the Chinaman and hate of the negro; their double dealings with China and all nations having Chinese interests?

The aims and purposes of the Japan Society and its branches are decidedly partisan and totally pro-Japanese; it has closed its doors to an open discussion of the Japanese problem and has denied a hearing to those who interpret the Japanese problem from the standpoint of the out-and-out American. In proof of this statement I submit four letters between Hamilton Holt, founder of the Society, and myself, in which he admits that the Japan Society "feels that it can continue its propaganda work

in its own way to better advantage" than to come out in "open debate."

Chicago, Illinois, December 14, 1915.

Mr. Hamilton Holt,
En tour at Newton, Kansas.

Dear Mr. Holt:

When I saw you in New York in the spring you suggested that I debate the Japanese problem with Dr. Gulick, and before the Japan Society. My rejoinder was that I'd prefer to do so before a less prejudiced audience. Since then, twice when in New York I've phoned your office, hoping to complete some arrangement, but you were not in the city.

I'm writing this to say that I will debate the problem with *you*, yourself, or with Dr. Gulick, if he is available, in April or May—and even before the Japan Society. If you can risk it there, I shall. But I want two debates on two distinct phases of the case, which represent the lines of attack followed by you and others, so far as I am informed. One refers to the action of California, the other is in regard to conferring citizenship on the Japanese.

The first debate on the question stated somewhat as follows:

Resolved, That the action of California in passing the Anti-Alien land bill of 1913 be condemned by the American people.

Second debate:

Resolved, that the Japanese be granted, as they request, "the full rights of American citizenship on an equal footing with other civilised nations."

Your Society is vigorously pushing the affirmative, and I choose the negative. Let us have about one hour each, with five or ten minutes each in rebuttal, or no rebuttal.

Most sincerely,
MONTAVILLE FLOWERS.

December 31, 1915.

My dear Mr. Flowers:

I have taken up the matter with the Japan Society in regard to a debate with you and Dr. Gulick, but the Japan Society does not want to father the proposition, because they think it would stir up more trouble. But possibly you and Dr. Gulick could arrange a debate by yourselves. I certainly would go a long way to hear it. I myself would not want to enter the lists with you for my knowledge of the California situation is only from reading and not from personal investigation.

Sincerely yours,

HAMILTON HOLT,
EDITOR.

February 8, 1916.

Mr. Hamilton Holt,
Editor of *The Independent*,
New York City, N. Y.

Dear Mr. Holt:

I am disappointed in the retreat of the Japan Society and in your refusal to accept my challenge to debate.

The Japan Society should be willing to meet the negative of its issue or to quit its tremendous campaign for the affirmative. The latter will be the easiest way for it to cease to "stir up more trouble", for its whole course must end in everlasting trouble.

While I appreciate the friendly spirit of your personal withdrawal from the two debates, I fail to see your consistency. You might reasonably decline to debate the first question of condemning California, because you have, as you say, no first hand knowledge of California conditions; and yet the course those conditions make necessary you have widely criticised as a "brutal insult" to Japan.

But the second question, on Japanese naturalisation, is a general principle for which you stand unequivocally. See page 11 of the pamphlet you wrote and distributed through the International Conciliation; and your support of Mr. Gulick, whose whole campaign has nothing less in view.

Now, having offered to meet you, the Founder of the Japan Society in the Society itself, and having been refused by you both, I shall feel at liberty to use every means I can to counteract the course the Society is taking, which I consider vicious in its assault upon California and fatally mistaken in its campaign to naturalise Asiatics.

In my interview with you in New York City you declared, "*If we can put this Gulick program over in the other forty-seven states, we will coerce California into our position.*" What I am anxious to do is to let Americans see both sides of this question before that happens.

Sincerely,
MONTAVILLE FLOWERS.

My dear Mr. Flowers:

February 16, 1916.

I have your letter of February eighth. I am rather sorry myself the Japan Society did not accept your challenge, but they have a feeling that an open debate on the California situation would lead to little good at this time. The Society feels that it can continue its propaganda work in its own way to better advantage. As for myself, as I stated previously, I have not got the time to acquire the details of the California situation, so that I can have them at my finger tips for a debate. The main arguments of course I am familiar with.

Sincerely yours,
HAMILTON HOLT,
EDITOR.

The Japan Society of New York is a menace to the United States. It is an organised, powerful, half-disguised agency to change American opinion, to open our doors to Japanese immigrants, to grant them the rights of citizenship and intermarriage. It has put a seal of approval upon intermixture and intermarriage of the yellow and white races, by giving them the social recognition and influence of New York society.

So long as they confine themselves to a study of the "ideals, arts and sciences" of Japan they may occupy an innocent place in our country. But they are promoting radical political propaganda to change our law, under the statement that it is an aesthetic, educational effort. This Japanese-American Society bears to American interests the exact character and relation of any other hyphenated American Society. It is doing for Japan more than any other is able to do for its foreign home land and we should hold it in greater disregard.

Prof. Henry Pratt Fairchild of Yale in his authoritative treatise "Immigration" lays down this principle: "Every foreign-American Society, be it Irish, German, Italian, Slovak, or any other, whatever its aims or purposes, is a standing evidence of a group of people who recognise certain affiliations and loyalties which are foreign to the out-and-out American."

CHAPTER XIII

THE APPEAL TO AMERICAN SENTIMENT

T. IYENAGA, K. K. KAWAKAMI AND THE JAPANESE PRESS BUREAUS IN THE UNITED STATES

"Not only should the Japanese be permitted to become American citizens but they should be left at liberty to intermarry. . . . What stupidity, what folly, what lack of insight into human nature is displayed by those nations who would put a ban on such unions!"¹

This is the declaration of K. K. Kawakami, born and reared in Japan—now in California, having a white wife. This, in brief, is the platform of the Japanese campaign in America.

The Japanese have discovered that the average American citizen acts upon sentiment when his own personal interests are not directly concerned. Our sentiments are fixed in a number of phrases which nobody analyses, but each one is like an electric button—if you press it, a definite result follows. "The people," "equal rights," "personal liberty," "Christian land," "universal brotherhood," "refuge of the oppressed," "rights of humanity," "our forefathers, our inheritance," "states rights," "race prejudice," "inexhaustible resources," each of these produces a definite reaction: Opposed political parties make common use of them—these platitudes—to mould public opinion, and public speakers interpret them to their various purposes. We are the most sentimental people in the world.

Japan's campaign is a play upon this sentimentality.

¹K. K. Kawakami in *The American Citizen*, June, 1913.

K. K. Kawakami, author of the declaration with which this chapter opens, is one of the managers of that campaign, the masters of that play.

The Japanese who are in America are organised with the system and precision of a great industrial plant or an army. Labourers grouped in camps have their bosses. The boss can tell you in a moment how many men he can command tomorrow and where he can secure more. The men obey him absolutely, coming, going, as he orders. Never forget that Japanese are community workers—their idea is the clan, not the individual. A Year Book is published by and for Japanese which gives the residence, occupation and holdings of the Japanese, the value and productions of each land owner and lessee. Every Japanese community has its local association, these have their state association, and all act together. Every member contributes monthly toward a common fund to promote their interests local and otherwise.

The head of this Japanese Association of America is this same K. K. Kawakami.

Likewise their campaign of publicity and propaganda is thoroughly organised and followed with business and military precision. Carl Crow, in his illuminating book, *Japan and America—A Contrast*, says Japan has in the United States the highest salaried publicity agent in the country. They have at least two press bureaus; they print newspapers, they write, collect and mail gratis to the newspapers of the country all kinds of articles relating to Japanese interests. Sometimes the purpose of the article appears on the face of it, sometimes it is concealed. Every one is a move in their general campaign. These bureaus have at hand special pamphlets made up of articles of their own press sheets and bulletins, all highly pro-Japanese. These sheets and pamphlets go to newspapers, colleges, libraries and members of Congress.

They distribute also the prejudiced and disproved but malicious pamphlet of Miss Alice M. Brown. Write to them for information and you will receive that.

One of these press bureaus is called the East and West Press Bureau and is located at 1548 Woolworth Building, New York City. The Japan Society of New York calls this press bureau "a publicity organisation whose aim is 'that Americans and Japanese should understand each other.'" Mr. T. Iyenaga, whose name is seen so constantly in the daily papers, is the head of it. It is his business to meet every article against Japan, to defend her policies and acts, whatever they may be, and to create whatever new material is needed to maintain for his own country the faith and sentiment of Americans. His press sheets are purposed to keep up a constant lively interest in Japan—to exploit her activities, exhibit her growth and power—explain satisfactorily the apparent evil of her aggressions and to interpret all her diplomacy in terms of honour and good will. His work and writings are exactly those of an attorney and pleader.

Where do these Japanese Press Bureaus get the money to sustain their work? A real press bureau sells its news and service on the basis of ordinary trade. Out of its earnings it meets its expenses. But the service of these Japanese Bureaus is free, even pamphlet matter is distributed "gratis". No charge is made for the press sheets, not even postage. All that is asked is that the material shall be used and an occasional credit given to the source. Who pays for this printing, and labour, and postage, and the salaries of the men who are conducting them? The case is clear. These agencies are not like our American news agencies—they are propagandists.

Now there is a very intimate relation and co-operation between this press bureau and the Japan Society of New York. An editorial from *The Bulletin*, the monthly

journal of the Japan Society, as we have shown in the preceding chapter, urged its thousand distinguished members to become subscribers to the Japanese Press Bureau: The Japan Society in this way becomes a confederate of the professional publicity bureaus for Japan, indorsing and spreading its propaganda, frequently reprinting their press sheet articles in its monthly Bulletin.

To illustrate, I add a part of an article by T. Iyenaga, reprinted in the Bulletin of the Japan Society in *January, 1915*, when the United States was aroused by the rumour of twenty-one demands which Japan had made upon China. The demands had been made, indeed, but when they were handed to Emperor Yuan Shih Kai he was warned by Japan to keep them secret on penalty of immediate aggression by Japan. This threat had leaked out, but the world did not yet know what these demands were. It was the business of Japan's press agents in America to keep down alarm and hold back action by other nations until Japan could make the whole base scheme an accomplished fact. In the light of the truth which developed later, this article by Iyenaga proves him untrustworthy in statement and shows how the Japan Society joins in the effort—at any cost—to defend Japan's course whatever that may be.

JAPAN'S POLICY IN CHINA

"The fundamental policy of Japan toward China, it cannot be too strongly emphasized, *is quite opposed to what those propagandists for China claim it to be*. It is no other than to cement the bond of amity and friendship between the two nations and properly to safeguard, thereby, their common interests. The well known policy of maintaining China's integrity and independence and the 'open door' remains to-day, of course, the same as it was during the days of Hay and Komura. Japan's Chinese policy, therefore, does not in the least run counter to that of America.

... None but a dullard would fail to grasp the immense benefits that would accrue to Japan from close friendship with the China of such enormous resources. *To win her friendship and to prevent European encroachment upon her, therefore, could not but have been the cornerstone of Japan's policy toward China.*"—Dr. Toyokichi Iyenaga writing in *The New York Tribune*.

This article was reprinted as above in *The Bulletin*. A few months later the world knew a part of the truth. It does not know it all yet. That truth was clearly stated by Samuel G. Blythe writing from Pekin in articles published in the *Saturday Evening Post*, July 10 and 17, 1915. His conclusions are corroborated by other American correspondents who were in the Far East at the time; Thomas F. Millard, editor of *The China Press* of Shanghai, and author of several books on the Far East; Jefferson Jones of *The Minneapolis Journal*, author of *The Fall of Tsingtao*; Carl Crow, author of *Japan and America—A Contrast*. They have been reported as true again and again by the ablest correspondents whom the greatest American press syndicates can send to Asia—Oscar King Davis, Gardner L. Harding, George Bronson Rea and others; finally by the whole body of American Missionaries in China headed by such men as Bishop Bashford. Yet these Japanese Press bureaus, and a few Japanese missionaries like Dr. Teusler go right on up to this hour denying palpable facts that have been written forever into the granite of history.

"At half past nine o'clock," says Mr. Blythe, "on the morning of Sunday, May 9, 1915, China, to all intents and purposes and as the forthcoming years will show, went on the dust heap of nations. After fifty centuries of identity as a sovereign power, China handed over enough of her sovereignty to Japan to enable Japan by

reason of her well known capabilities in such matters as illustrated in Korea and Manchuria, to assume control of this tremendous country and its four hundred millions of yellow men. . . . The policy of the open door in China and the preservation of the territorial integrity of China, as originally proposed by John Hay, will cease. The door will be open just so far as Japan chooses to open it. . . . The Japanese do not stop when they have started. They have a big hold on China now. If they can increase it as they hope to increase it, there will be a repetition of the Korean incident in some terms or other and China will cease to be China, and will be Sino-Japan or Japan-Sino—which describes it more accurately.”

Japan's most prolific press bureau, however, is The Pacific Press Bureau of San Francisco. And the head of it is the same as the head of The Japanese Association of America, K. K. Kawakami. His positions, like those of Iyenaga, are those of the propagandist; they cannot be impartial, for his efficiency is measured by his success as a partisan. To present and analyse even typical items in the varied work of this one man would require more space than the limits of this book, yet it would pay to do it. He is the type of fearless, schooled, subtle, adroit, haughty, inconsistent, aggressive, Oriental-minded Japanese, with whom the diplomats and peoples of other nations must reckon—pointedly denying fact, blandly justifying any means by the end, making the true look false and the false true, bent on one thing—the triumph of Japan in America. California is the thorn in his flesh and the hate within him for that state is but thinly concealed; always to smile, yet to hit, hit, hit her; to play upon the false harp of stupid American sentiments; to write and write and distribute his material; and with the artillery tactics of Napoleon, to strike, strike, strike in one place until the line is broken and the victory won.

His first play on sentiment is always to write as though he were a full-blooded American with ancestry running back to the Mayflower. His play upon "our" and "we" is great. "We of the West are fond of calling *ourselves* civilised and intellectual, but to what extent have *we* purged *ourselves* of *our* primitive love of brute force?"¹ No, he is not speaking of Japan and her brute force in Korea, Formosa and China, but of the United States.

His assimilation of the United States in "we" and "our" knows no limit. "In *our* early days of intercourse with China and Japan, *our* policy towards the Orient was based upon the Christian principles of justice and righteousness."² With sophomoric fervor he writes of inter-marriage, "Here and there the marvelous hands of love razed the barrier of prejudice and united men of Japan and 'our daughters' in the sweet bond of holy wedlock." See the craft of that appeal—"our daughters!" "The eternal principles embodied in *our* Declaration of Independence!"³ "We forced open the doors of Japan, now *we* close *our* doors to the Japanese!"⁴ "It was this sense of justice which inspired *our* forefathers."⁵ "Now *our* doors are closed alike to students and to ordinary immigration."⁶

This last statement is wholly untrue. Passports to America are secured in Japan of Japanese officials. The grant or refusal depends wholly upon the Japanese; the Gentleman's Agreement makes no discrimination against students; the passports are not viséd by any American officer in Japan. When the Japanese arrives at our ports

¹*Asia at the Door*, page 27.

²*Ibid.*, page 29.

³*Ibid.*, page 30.

⁴*Ibid.*, page 31.

⁵He refers to Washington, Jefferson, Hamilton and their contemporaries. Page 35.

⁶*Asia at the Door*, page 36.

his passport is accepted at face value. It is not questioned or investigated and he is admitted to do what he pleases—to enter trades or go to school. America thus depends wholly on the gentlemanly honour of the other party to the Gentleman's Agreement. This sentimental appeal for tears of sympathy is a part of the subtlety of Kawakami.

In all this publicity campaign by the Japanese Press Bureaus, as elsewhere, there is fine team play by all in the game, pitching and tossing references and quotations one to another, so as to give the appearance that all the "authorities" are on their list. Whenever any one tells the truth about the California situation, or the Japanese religion and morals, or of Japan's imperial designs on weaker countries, of her double dealing and her defenceless diplomacy, he is sure to be assailed by a certain group. It begins with Kawakami and Iyenaga, who contribute their articles to Eastern papers and magazines, so that in their Press Sheets sent out to other papers these articles appear as "quoted." Then follow Gulick and Griffis, then Holt and Mabie, and the Japan Society of New York in its Bulletins and books, until the ball is passed on down to Matthews, Peabody, and Steiner, to the Religious and Peace Societies, whose general work is to destroy all the so-called "disturbers of brotherly love." The phrases they toss about are well known—like calibres of shot—"uninformed," "ignorant," "unscientific," "full of race prejudice," "unworthy of notice," "belonging to a past age," and many of worse import. The position of this group is always one of superior knowledge, higher spirituality and larger gift of "the international mind."

Many have observed recently a remarkable coincidence: those who most earnestly support Japan are opposed to any adequate military preparedness by our own country. The whole pro-Japanese machine is worked to prevent it. In *The North American Review* for May, 1916, Kawa-

kami writes on "Shall America Arm Against Japan?" He begins by saying Americans may doubt his sincerity and declares he is truly sincere, devotedly American and will state only facts. Then he figures Japan almost entirely out of any navy at all and shows ours big and appalling. His conclusion is that it is stupid folly for the United States to build any more navy. The article is so transparent that the editor himself follows it with mild but clear contradiction.

This general use of the peace motif happens to be illustrated in a single article published in the Bulletin of the Japan Society for January, 1916. Its author is Dr. William Elliott Griffis, (he who tries to get the Japanese into this country by trying to prove they are not Mongolians). He knew America would never stand for the course Japan was then taking in China and he joined Iyenaga, already quoted in the same number of the "Bulletin," in an attempt to forestall the effect of the truth of the case by violently calling the truth a "fresh flood of falsehoods, calumnies, misrepresentations and exaggerations." He says (the italics are his) "Our nation may yet be stampeded into a reign of militarism that shall pass beyond all reasonable measures of preparation and defence. To secure this aim of the war hawks, it will be a moral necessity to defame and misrepresent Japan. The mere fact that this Oriental country has taken steps to save herself from being blotted out as an independent nation, and has halted the conquering march of Occidental conquest in Asia—which the past century or two reveals—by European powers, is, though specious, a sufficient argument to force Congress to create a war establishment not very different from Germany's. *We must be prepared, in 1916, for a fresh flood of falsehoods, calumnies, misrepresentations and exaggerations. I find that seven-tenths of the press articles hostile to Japan are downright*

falsehoods. A new form of attack is to boost China at the expense of Japan. Again let us be warned that for the colossal navy and army now demanded by many, the bogey of 'Japan's sinister purposes' must be kept dressed, painted and well provided by wires to be jerked, especially when the bills come before Congress."

Thus all who promote the Japanese cause are intolerant against those who stand for American interests against Japanese aggression, and they fall into the Japanese mental habits and forms of arguments. Kawakami is a clear and delightful illustration of this method. It consists first of all in the absolute denial of fact, or in diverting the attention from the fact; or the belittlement of great matters as "the mere fact." Or they begin with a compliment, but end with the lash; they ask for much more than they expect to get, being entitled to nothing; they seek religious tolerance for barbarous acts. As the quail flutters along the ground at your feet leading you away from where her young are hiding that they may escape while you are diverted, so by pathetic appeals in directions which have nothing to do with the case, these Japanese propagandists lead the thought and emotions away from their covey of bad deeds. And like the quail, that, after she has led you far away and her young ones are safely hidden, rises and sweeps back to them, so the Japanese at the proper time announce their true course when it is safely established. Then with an assumption of innocence in having given no moral offence by their deception and the reversal of position, they justify the means by the end—with the argument that others have done worse than they.

As an illustration of the way they deny fact I submit the following regarding the statements of Samuel G. Blythe in *The Saturday Evening Post*; his two articles were of startling fact and compelling truth. The Jap-

anese felt them tearing off the mask, letting Americans see the fearful visage of the Japanese government eating at the vitals of China. So, Mr. K. K. Kawakami wrote, printed and circulated the following opiate in his Press Sheet:

“MR. BLYTHE’S ILLUSIONS

“Ingenious persons, sometimes belonging to the commercial, sometimes to the literary world, go through the process of discovering China and Japan anew, and, while possessing the slightest possible acquaintance with all that has been said and written on the subject before, proceed to unburden themselves of revelations calculated to startle the world. The last example of this class—Mr. Samuel G. Blythe, has been accorded a generous allowance of the *Saturday Evening Post* to tell his story.

“There would hardly be a public ready to accept the stuff palmed off upon it in regard to the affair of China, but for the disposition which has been sedulously fostered, often in pursuit of the basest ends, to regard every move in the foreign policy of Japan as a sinister one. The atmosphere of misconception which has thus been created is not only harmful to our immediate interests but may create some very serious dangers for the future peace of this republic It may be hoped that there are not many people who imagine with Mr. Blythe that this country¹ has voluminously assumed a sort of guardianship of China. The Chinese themselves have shown a dangerous readiness to imbibe such an impression. . . . Mr. Blythe is merely the latest of his tribe to accept without question the unfounded belief, etc.”

Every Japanese in America who can write or speak English belongs to this system of publicity and campaign for opinion. The writer in an address in a central western state once challenged the editors of the place to the fact

¹Meaning America.

that, knowingly or unknowingly, they had aided Japan's appeal to American sentiment. The next day in the presence of the manager of a great hotel, one of a system of such hotels, the editor of one of the papers related this instance: "When the California land bill was before the country, the Japanese chef in this hotel came to me two or three times making little inquiries of how I stood regarding the Japanese, if the people of the town liked them, etc. One day after such inquiry he drew a manuscript from his pocket and said, 'I have written an article here, maybe your people like to read it.' And I printed it. It was a general plea for Japanese as against California, etc."

"Yes," said the manager of the hotel, "he was receiving pay from Japan, and every month I cashed a draft given him by the Japanese Government. He grew to use so much time over his books and papers that I discharged him and he at once entered the State University."

The wide distribution of Japanese students in American colleges is a significant phase and a great aid to Japan in this campaign. Every student is a centre for this propaganda, their presence has hindered, in some colleges ended, a free, open discussion of Japan and the Japanese. American students in these colleges are eager to hear the whole case, but the faculties, as a rule, fear something may be said or done that will offend their Japanese constituency. Besides, some faculties seem to have a general belief that any one who is not strongly for Japan is wrong; something after the Connecticut Yankee, who when asked to support a Chautauqua, said: "Everybody here now knows everything about everything, and anybody who knows anything about anything else is wrong." They believe that any so called "anti-Japanese" will be a disturber of the peace; they may not know what such an one's position is or how gently his case may be put, but mentally

they place against him a general charge of ignorance and evil intent. This fact has come to me not once, but many times. It is a pitiful surrender. This condition sometimes goes on down through the high schools and to some extent to ranks of public school teachers. There have been Californians, men of University degrees with public experience and irreproachable character, who have been denied by public school men the privilege to speak on this subject, not only in other states, but in California itself. On the other hand in no case that has ever come to light from University down to the grades has any Japanese or pro-Japanese American been denied the same privilege. So you may measure the results which Japan's appeals to sentiment are now having. I would not close one American College to Japanese students, but neither would I close one to a perfectly candid discussion of Japan's aggressions and weaknesses, even though such discussion might result in the withdrawal of every Japanese student from America.

The Japanese campaign is strengthened by the presence not only of Japanese students in many of our colleges, but by Japanese who are members of our faculties. T. Iyenaga, head of the Japanese Press Bureau of New York, held such a position in a great university as a teacher on America-Japanese relations. Japanese, employed in colleges, are teaching the subjects of "Immigration" and "American Foreign Relations." Dr. Ichishashi, of the Leland Stanford University, is a case in point. He teaches the general subject of "Immigration." I recently had a conversation with one of the students who had taken his course. She was a sweet-minded young lady, of possibly eighteen or nineteen; I found her *en rapport* with the Japanese singly and as a nation, and wholly persuaded that California was wrong and that the Japanese should be permitted to come into this country on

equal terms and in equal numbers with all other people. She stated that the whole of Leland Stanford University is as highly sympathetic as herself. I asked her what reasons lay in her mind for this sympathy, both on her own part and that of the University. Her answer is a revelation, "I do not know where I got the idea, whether Ichihashi gave it, or which of the Professors gave it, but Stanford is grateful to the Japanese for the part they played in the establishment of the University. You see Stanford was founded by Senator Stanford, who made his money in constructing railroads, and it was the Japanese labourers, who worked for him in building the railroads, that enabled him to make the profits with which the University is now endowed!" Seven mature persons besides myself heard this statement made. Is it not appalling? The fact is that, at the time when Senator Stanford had finished all of his railroad construction, there were not a total of a thousand Japanese in the United States. Thus, stopping up or poisoning with false sentiment the very springs of our national life—*the schools*,—Japan proceeds on her conquest of American opinion.

I will close this chapter with a typical illustration of the play the Japanese Press Agents make upon tender sentiment. It is a story taken from the Press Bureau matter of K. K. Kawakami, one of many such he distributes. It is taken from his paper, *The Japanese American News*, daily and Sunday, which carries a page or two in English from which articles are clipped and distributed to the newspapers of the country. The following was picked up from such a group of clippings that were found in an eastern city. It will well repay a psychological analysis in any class room. Study especially the emotional force but foolishness of the last paragraph—for that's what the story is written for. It serves to tie the end of this chapter to the beginning, for we must not forget the

purpose of all this Press Bureau Campaign which this article so skilfully drives to the heart is—to secure American citizenship, American land, American economic advantages, American wives.

THE PASSING OF THE YELLOW PERIL AT MENTONE

By Miss Nora R. Gray

It was such a beautiful place, and the name had a comforting sound. I found it a little hard to realise the nature of my visit; the California sun recently so economical of its rays, now shone with unstinted warmth on all the smiling valley; on the lawn the fountain threw its shining drops on gay and chattering blackbirds; yellow butterflies chased and played on beds of bright carnations nodding gaily at the merry-making crowd; a great red rose scattered its petals down on us in a truly carnival shower, and the wind sent a little twitter of merriment down the palm branches; young calves frisked in green alfalfa fields, and all over the beautiful San Bernardino Valley there was an ever-rising tide of leaf and flower, of life and beauty.

The Sister Superior who met us did not seem aware of all this smiling loveliness; she had but come from a little room where the tide of life was running swiftly away into a much quieter and darker valley; as we came to stand by his bedside he let his eyes rest for a moment on the group of people who looked down on his slender, youthful form, almost too frail and boyish to make this dark crossing over a river now running very swiftly, indeed, down the dark valley; his eyes rested with almost a smile on good Father Breton, who had come from Los Angeles to comfort him in his passage from this gay and happy California valley to "The Valley of the Shadow"; on his own people whose loyal friendship had done all that human hearts and human hands could do to make his going easier; on the head of Mt. San Bernardino now sinking to rest in beds of sombre blueness, and, perhaps, on the long line of orange trees where so recently he had helped to harvest the wealth of California;

I, too, looked down that row of shining greenness, but I saw an island in the sea, and a little home, such a little place, to which a boy in America had sent money to help keep the family together; I knew of the first forty dollars that went across the sea, and seemed a little fortune to the father, often earning much less than ten dollars a month of our money; more also I knew of the sacrifice the boy had made to put the little home beyond the reach of want, and it was not so long ago the draft for three hundred dollars sped across the sea to the little mother, wealth to her almost beyond the dreams of avarice, and placing the home on a sure foundation of prosperity.

The long rows of orange trees will know him no more; the wheels of this puzzling machine we call western civilisation will turn no more for him; it was always a little hard for him to understand this machine; he could not see just why we wanted the wheels to turn so fast, but he kept the laws that keep the machine moving, and hid all the puzzling things in his heart; now there is nothing more to ponder over; safe in the haven of that church whose love and charity has never known the word Race; his last look is on that Saviour whose loving heart carried the sorrows of all the world. Father Breton's words sound quite loud and clear, full of faith and love, calling to a tired little boy to be not afraid, and to pass over in peace to a wonderful valley where he can pick the fruit from "The Tree of Life," and now I look down on a face very peaceful, but just a little weary and a line from the Lotus Gospel comes singing through my mind, "Transient are all; they being born must die; being born are dead, and being dead are glad to be at rest."

When the little mother in the home across the sea hangs out the paper lanterns and sets the little home in order for the "Feast of the Return of the Dead," one will return from a happy California valley.

The German Kaiser can rest a little better in his bed to-night; California can breathe a little easier; there is one less Japanese, and it will take such a little bit of land for him I

do not think you will need to make laws regulating it. If he had lived he might have been a check to German Imperialism; might have become "Master of the Pacific"; might have closed the door in China; might even have wished to own a little home in California, so there is a sound of security for you in the sound of the clods falling on his coffin; as for me, he was my friend, and I shall grieve for him.

—*The Japanese American News*, September 12, 1915.
No. 5674. Sunday Supplement.

CHAPTER XIV

THE APPEAL TO PEACE

RELATION OF THE PEACE MOVEMENT TO THE JAPANESE CAMPAIGN

I GIVE myself body and soul to the cause of Peace. I stand squarely against any course that may lead to any war and especially against every tendency toward an American-Japanese war. In a war with Japan my son and myself would be in the first line; my wife, daughters, home, friends, and property within the first field of sacrifice. Both in public and private I refrain from discussing the Japanese problem from the standpoint of war. The threats and predictions so constantly upon the tongues of Kawakami, Holt, Mabie, Gulick and the others can produce no good in the alarm they are meant to create and the hate they inevitably engender. But no one who chooses only and always to avoid war can make a straight course through the treacherous seas of national and international life toward ultimate civilisation.

War is the name for a breakdown on the way to civilisation. For the whole definition of civilisation is—Such a development of the perceptions, morals and manners of men and nations that they may pursue the divine aspirations of life in peace. War destroys every concept in the definition—development, perceptions, morals, manners, men, nations, divine aspirations, life and peace. War is in itself wholly an evil. The best that ever can be said of it is that sometimes it may be the less of two evils between which nations may have to choose.

At this last statement the different disciples of peace

part company. The professional pacifist never chooses war. To him there is no greater evil than war, and whatever the peace course offers he accepts. Destruction of property, death in battle, are for him sacrifices too great to be made for anything whatsoever. In this argument, which they derive from Christianity, they destroy the glory of the Cross itself. The Cross will ever draw with irresistible power because the Prince of Peace willingly gave his life to attain an object higher in value than bodily life. If the Bible as a whole teaches anything, it teaches the infinitely superior value of truth and righteousness over the individual earthly life that may needs be sacrificed to establish them for others.

The hope of international peace, the crusade toward it, the idea that it may be secured by the arbitration of war problems are old indeed. A friend one day took from my library a volume from a set of volumes compiled under the name of William Jennings Bryan and containing the great orations of history. He read an argument persuading that all troubles between nations should be settled by the peaceful counsels of their leading men. "Who wrote that?" said he. "Mr. Bryan," said I. "It must be his introduction." But no, it was a Greek statesman and orator who lived centuries before the Christian era.

In the seventeenth century, A. D., the peace movement took definite form. Hugo Grotius, called the founder of international law, published his great book, "On the Rights of War and Peace"; George Fox preached universal peace and founded the Society of Friends, with peace as its central idea; William Penn began his Holy Experiment of Peace in America.

The eighteenth century gave to the peace cause Larke, Leibnitz, Montesquieu in philosophy; Lessing and Herder in poetry, and Kant's great essay, "Perpetual Peace."

The nineteenth century accelerated the movement.

"For every peace idealist whose name comes to us from the two previous centuries, the nineteenth furnishes scores. Noah Worcester, William Ladd, Jonathan Dymond, William E. Channing, Charles Sumner, Adin Ballou, Thomas C. Upham, Elihu Burritt, William Jay, John Bright, Richard Cobden, Henry Richard, Hodgson Pratt, Victor Hugo, Charles Lemonier, Frederic Passy, Bertha von Suttner, David Dudley Field, E. T. Moneta, Fredrik Nager, Sheldon Amos, Bluntschli, Leone Levi, Leo Tolstoy, John de Bloch, and Nicholas II., to mention no others, all were primarily peace idealists."¹

But the twentieth century is the Peace Movement Century. The first fifteen years of it have seen that movement develop a thousandfold. A suggestion of what it now is in regard to organisations may be gained from *The Peace Year Book*, for it requires a long volume to give even brief synopses of the societies and agencies that are now working for peace. There are registered hundreds of them, representing all the countries of the world.

The first organisation in America was the American Peace Society. It was founded in 1815, organised in 1828, chartered as a corporation in 1848. It now has 10,000 members. About it are federated the other societies—national, state, church and school. "To-day this society, with headquarters at Washington, is an incorporated organisation, with five equipped 'Departments' in our United States, thirty-three 'Constituent Branch' societies, twenty-two 'Section' societies, three 'Auxiliary' branches, and six other 'Co-operating' societies. This society initiates the American peace congresses, attempts to co-operate with the Government, and to influence legislation in behalf of arbitrations and international good will. It maintains a lecture bureau, a library of peace

¹*Historic Development of The Peace Idea*, by Berry F. Trueblood, LL.D.

information, and distributes tons of literature to writers, speakers, schools, colleges, and libraries. It is organising new peace societies as speedily as possible; and it issues the *Advocate of Peace* monthly, to a rapidly increasing list of subscribers.”¹

Three things above all now pertain to our discussion: First, this intricate co-ordination of peace and other societies and forces. Second, the ideas, motives and machinery behind them. Third, the specific propaganda they are striving to put into American politics.

James L. Tryon, head of one of the great Departments of the American Peace Society, in an introduction to *The Peace Movement in America*, by Julius Moritzen, says: “The American Peace Society, by the adoption of a new Constitution at Washington on May 10, 1912, has become through its directorate a National Peace Council. The society may properly be called a national federation for Peace. Besides extending its state society system throughout the Union, it has invited to its directorate not only representatives of local Peace Societies, but representatives of

The Carnegie Endowment of International Peace,
The World Peace Foundation,
The Mohonk Arbitration Conference,
The American Association for International Conciliation,
The American Society for Judicial Settlement of International Disputes, and
The American School Peace League.

“Other large peace organisations, whether formed on a membership plan or operated as institutions, are also to be included in its comprehensive plan of reorganisation. *When an arbitration treaty or kindred matter comes*

¹Arthur Deerin Call, Executive Secretary of the American Peace Society, in *Advocate of Peace*, Vol. LXXV. No. 10.

before the Senate or Congress the peace and arbitration sentiment of the whole country can be brought to bear with an effect as never before. Education of public sentiment in the new internationalism will go on with less waste and duplication than formerly."

Here is announced a fact of incalculable importance, to wit; The Peace movement opens the twentieth century with a radical change in its character from that of the seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth centuries. Then it was a teacher to educate public opinion; *now it is an enormous organisation to act upon, form, and control the machinery of government.*

No fact in the history of the United States in this century has more significance than that. It surpasses in importance changes of Presidents and Congresses, political parties, and their platforms.

Now there are present in the Peace Societies named above two elements of a trust—the financial backing from one source, and the common management from one set of men in an interlocking directorate. The greater of these forces is the money support. The man who pays the bills can dictate the policies and manipulate the machinery with its hundreds of salaried secretaries and employees. That man, more than any other, more than all others, is Mr. Andrew Carnegie.

The impetus which has carried the peace movement in America from its weak status twenty years ago to its present vast energies, was given it by the millions of Andrew Carnegie—supplemented by other millions from other men. Benevolences, like games or clothes, go by fashion. Sometimes they court churches, sometimes colleges, and now Peace Societies and Social Foundations.

Now Mr. Carnegie has a wonderful master passion. It is to reunite the United States and Great Britain under one government, one ruler, one army, one navy, and one

policy behind all. In 1893, before he had made his Peace Endowments, he gave the world, in *The North American Review*, this great vision, and to its realisation made the following pledge:

“Whatever obstructs reunion, I oppose; whatever promotes reunion, I favor. I judge all political questions from this standpoint. All party divisions sink into nothingness in my thoughts compared with the reunion of our race.”

“Let men say what they will, therefore, I say that as surely as the sun in the heavens once shone upon Britain and America united, so surely it is one morning to rise, shine upon, and greet again the reunited state—‘The British American Union’.”¹

This is the inspiration of the Carnegie Peace Movement, the key to its attitudes and its energies. As one reads Mr. Carnegie’s argument in full, he feels the fervor of his enthusiasm.

“A reunion of the Anglo-Americans, . . . consisting to-day of one hundred and eight millions, which fifty years hence will number more than two hundred millions, would be unassailable upon land by any power or combination of powers that it is possible to create. We need not, therefore, take into account attacks upon the land; as for the water the combined fleets would sweep the seas. The new nation would harvest from the world its greatest stain—the murder of men by men. It would be the arbiter between nations, and enforce the peaceful settlement of all quarrels, saying to any disputants who threatened to draw the sword:

“ ‘Hold! I command you both,
The one that stirs makes me his foe.
Unfold to me the cause of quarrel
And I will judge betwixt you’.”

¹*North American Review*. June, 1893.

Without assailing the motives of Mr. Carnegie, or criticising his master passion, we must note deeply the fact which he confesses, namely, *that he judges all political questions from the standpoint of the reunion of Great Britain and America*; and he directs his mighty money power to that end. His peace power is a political power with a definite plan. Very recently we have had a fine illustration of the use of that power.

The controversy over the repeal of the Panama Tolls Act was before Congress in the Spring of 1914. It arose because England objected to our grant of free tolls to our own coastwise trade through the Panama Canal. The Act had but recently passed. The Republicans had pledged themselves to pass it; the Progressives in the campaign of 1912 declared for it; it was a clear-cut plank in the Democratic platform upon which Mr. Woodrow Wilson was elected to the Presidency. Thus it seemed definitely settled and fixed as an American policy.

But England objected. Surely there was no cause or fear of war with her because she so objected. Yet the law was repealed and England's contention was allowed. How could there be such a reversal of opinion?

Mr. Elihu Root of New York, who was Secretary of State under Theodore Roosevelt, and who was a United States Senator when the Panama Tolls Act was passed and when it was repealed, is the President of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace; he had been the legal adviser of Mr. Carnegie in great business affairs.

Mr. James Brown Scott, who was Solicitor of the Department of State when Mr. Root was Secretary of State, is the Executive Secretary of the Carnegie Endowment and head of its most important department of work (the Department of International Law), and he was a delegate to the Hague Conference of 1907. He presides over the distribution of \$500,000 per year which is the income

from the ten millions of dollars of United States Steel bonds with which Mr. Carnegie made the endowment.

Senator Root voted against the Free Tolls Act when it was passed and attacked it soon after. But, on January 21, 1913, after the whole matter seemed forever settled, he startled the whole country in an elaborate speech in the Senate, urging the United States to reverse itself on free tolls. The Carnegie Endowment, through James Brown Scott, distributed nearly three quarters of a million copies (715,602) of that speech throughout the United States, sending some to Europe. *It was printed in the U. S. Government printing office and it was mailed under the Senatorial frank of Senator Root.*

This was followed, on March 15, 1913, by a statement signed by some of the members of the Board of Trustees of the Endowment declaring for the repeal of the law. Of this, one million two hundred thousand (1,200,000) copies were distributed.¹ Both distributions were author-

¹This distribution has great interest as it shows what a powerful scientific lobby to influence legislation, having \$500,000 a year to spend, regards as the best way to affect the acts of Congress.

Report on distribution of statement of trustees on Panama toll question

Associated Press (250 for foreign newspapers).....	1,020
International News Service.....	265
New York Sun Press Association.....	75
United Press Service.....	20
One copy to each Representative and Senator, sent to his home address.....	531
Distributed by the division of intercourse and education...	1,000
Distributed by the Paris bureau.....	1,000
Mr. F. F. Kane, of the Philadelphia bar (for campaign work in Philadelphia).....	500
Isthmian Canal Commission.....	30
British Embassy.....	30
Department of State.....	20
Representative Sims.....	20

ised by the *Executive Committee* of the Carnegie Endowment. This whole interference with our Government was investigated by Congress under Senate Resolution No. 92 of the Sixty-third Congress by a sub-committee of the Judiciary under the title "Maintenance of a Lobby to Influence Legislation." It forms a document of great value.

These acts interpret in deeds Mr. Tryon's statement of the purpose of the Endowment and the co-ordination of the peace bodies, to-wit: "When an arbitration treaty or kindred matter comes before the Senate or Congress, the peace and arbitration sentiment of the whole country can be brought to bear with an effect as never before." The Carnegie Peace forces regarded the free tolls contention as an impediment in the way to the reunion of Great Britain and America, and its power was "brought to bear." The result was a triumphant success, and is a fair measure of that power. It overturned an act of Congress. It made a Democratic Congress break its platform pledge.

Metropolitan Club.....	20
Booksellers	20
Massachusetts Peace Society.....	1,600
Farmers	337,000
Lawyers	110,000
Bank directors.....	85,000
Physicians	137,000
Clergymen	95,000
County school superintendents.....	3,590
Country general stores.....	152,000
Dentists	40,000
Druggists	48,000
Real estate agents.....	73,000
Newspapers and periodicals (excepting dailies).....	25,000
Chambers of commerce and boards of trade.....	1,500
Manufacturers	95,000
 Making approximately.....	 1,208,145

It turned President, Republicans, Progressives, and Democrats alike against their former positions, and changed the policy of the United States.

There are other clear instances of the exercise of this Peace power. In the Summer and Winter of 1915 it put its hand upon the Chautauqua and lyceum platforms of the United States. These have been entirely free from endowments for special propaganda, bonuses, subsidies, or commercial influences, and are the most nearly free of all American Institutions for the expression of public opinion. Without comment I shall let an editorial in the *Chicago Tribune* (January 24, 1915) tell the remainder of this story:

“The following announcement comes to the *Tribune*:

“A thousand addresses by more than a hundred lecturers and college professors, supplemented by literature for the promotion of a better understanding of international relations, have been arranged by the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace as part of a nation-wide campaign against war this summer. More than 1,600 Chautauqua platforms are to be the centres of lectures and debates on the subject, and it is estimated that the Chautauqua audiences will aggregate 4,000,000.

“This endowment has engaged specialists to lecture at thirty-nine universities, seventeen colleges, and eleven normal schools during summer sessions, the audiences being in the main teachers. Y. M. C. A. summer training schools also will be reached, and forty college ‘international polity’ clubs already have been organised by the endowment representatives.

“The endowment refers to this activity as a ‘non-partisan investigation of war and peace,’ and Dr. Nicholas Murray Butler, one of the leading agents of the Carnegie pacifist propaganda, makes the following fair-seeming comment:

“The work which we are undertaking is purely educa-

tional, scientific, non-partisan. We want to know as a scientific fact whether it is true that man must go on settling his differences forever by war. If this should turn out not to be scientifically true, we want to know how man is going to give the war method up, and what he can substitute for it.

"In this guise this movement would be welcomed by all friends of knowledge and of righteous peace. But if the past performances and policy of this Carnegie endowment are not to be reversed, the proceedings will be neither an 'investigation' nor 'non-partisan.' A true 'investigation' does not start with its conclusions made up, nor can such proceeding be called 'non-partisan.' The Carnegie endowment is not engaged in investigation, but in propaganda, and its most prominent agents, Dr. Jordan, for example, dogmatise with a freedom and sweeping conclusiveness that no propagandist surpasses.

"Dr. Butler's remark that 'we want to know as a scientific fact whether it is true that a man must go on settling his differences forever by war' is a typical utterance of this school of pacifists. Whether it is incurable naïveté or disingenuousness that permits such a statement is hard to tell. But that a leading university president should assume that it can be established as a 'scientific fact' whether or not mankind must 'go on settling his differences forever by war,' and that this question can be settled by a regiment of college professors and lecturers on international law, is an astonishing expression of American official scholarship. The use of the term 'scientific' in such connection smacks unpleasantly of quack thought.

"The more serious consideration presented by this announcement, however, is the effect of a propaganda thus disguised upon the national thought and morale. That the American public needs education in our history and international relations is only too evident. But it needs open-minded education, not propaganda in the guise of scientific investigation, propaganda which throws facts out of perspective, puts conclusions in place of facts, and hides relevant realities behind a roseate glow of emotional altruism.

"Another serious consideration is the fact that this propaganda is directed in a noticeable degree by and at teachers, an adroit strategy which will result, if not energetically counteracted, in a maximum of influence upon the thought of the young and impressionable, who can draw for self-protection neither upon experience nor upon corrective knowledge."

Likewise "education of public sentiment" is going on in the case of Japan, by the same general forces, in the same general course. It is a conspicuous fact that those who are most active in their denunciation of California and loudest in their support of Japan, are in the peace movement, and many of them are the most active men in it. They even explain their Japanese campaign as a necessary part of the duties of the Peace Societies. They hold that whatever contention may bring disfavour for us in Japan must be yielded. Many of them go so far as to say the problem must not be discussed at all unless favourably to Japan, and several have refused to have the American case stated before an American audience unless a Japanese be present to make reply. What other body of propagandists carries its intolerance so far?

These men also stand for the mixture of races, and their common residence together in all lands. How could they from their premises reach any other conclusion? Mr. William I. Hull, of Swarthmore College, President of the Peace Society of Pennsylvania, on April 15, 1916, made these two declarations in an address: "I want you to understand that I am a peace-at-any-price man;" and, arguing the newest of all the recent fallacies, he said, "The sin of the age is nationality." These two ideas are consistent. The removal of all national lines and units, the blend of all civilisations, the mixture of all races; America, the home of all men on their own terms, as the

price for peace! Though even that price will not bring universal peace, nor insure peace in America, yet from such major premises the easy support of the whole Japanese contention is the logical course of the peace movement, and rapidly the whole peace party is aligning itself with Japan.

Thus it is that Mr. Hamilton Holt's pamphlet making a plea for the immigration and naturalisation of Japanese is printed and distributed by one of Mr. Carnegie's peace societies; and his lectures, in which he urges the same course, are paid for by the Carnegie Endowment. Mr. Gulick's propaganda is indorsed and distributed by the various units of the American Peace Society and the Church Peace Union, all drawing their financial life from the same source. Some of the directors of these American Peace Societies are members of the Peace Societies of Japan, and Japan accepts no half-way measures.

The activity of the Carnegie peace interests in behalf of Japan has taken the form of a press agency and political bureau. In mid-August, 1916, The American Peace Society distributed to the press a twenty page pamphlet entitled "War with Japan." It is an epitome of all the pro-Japanese material now afloat. It was sent out with this request: "You are invited to quote from this pamphlet liberally. The Japanese say 'it explains the Japanese situation exactly as we ourselves would like to present it.' This pamphlet is being liberally *distributed in Japan by the Japanese Ambassador* and has been referred to the personal attention of President Wilson."¹

¹An indication of the logic and quality of this pamphlet may be seen in two quotations. The author produces that usual opiate to quiet alarms, the statement that the Japanese are not fighting to get into America, and will not come; all they want is the RIGHT to come; he says: "Japan has never, even in the face of California's most drastic agitation and legislation, professed her intention of

A week later it sent out an "immediate release" announcing a new organisation named The Women's International Friendship League, designed to capture the women voters of America. I reproduce the first and last parts verbatim:

For Immediate Release.

August 3, 1916.

"The American Peace Society offers you the following information for publication, and will appreciate your use of it in your territory:

WOMEN VOTERS AND THE JAPANESE QUESTION

"A movement especially designed to reach the women voters of this country and to place before them the Japanese situation is announced by Miss Josephine C. Locke, of 2388 Champlain Street, Washington, D. C., in the formation of the Women's International Friendship League, of which Miss Locke is Corresponding Secretary. The purpose of this League, to acquaint the women voters of this country with the Japanese point of view towards America, and to bring about a closer friendship between the women of the two nations, is to be effected by a campaign of lectures to women throughout the West and Middle West, in which the most valuable aid will be given by Miss Virginia Garner, the League's International Chairman for Japan. . . . Miss Garner is in Washington at present in connection with conferences upon the Immigration Bill and appears to-day before the Committee on Foreign Relations in this connection. Other prominent women associated with Miss Locke

insisting that her people come to America. All that she has contended for was their RIGHT to come. *No one but a fool could picture a nation willing to fight for the privilege of losing her subjects.*" (P. 6.)

He flatly contradicts himself on page 13 as follows:

Were it not for the fact that *Japan is hopelessly, helplessly over-crowded* with her rapidly increasing population, *she would not want*, she would not be willing, *that any of her people should seek lodgment oversea*!"

and Miss Garner in the Women's International Friendship League, are Miss Emma Goodale, of Waialua, Hawaii, and Miss Elizabeth K. Knudsen, Land Expert, Los Angeles, California."

The American Peace Society!—A press agency distributing pro-Japanese material in connection with the Japanese government! A political bureau, managing a campaign by brilliant women, in the name of friendship, backed by Carnegie power to capture the women's votes to elect Congressmen favourable to pro-Japanese legislation!

The relation between the Peace Movement and the Japanese Contention is definite and powerful. If the Carnegie forces could reverse the Congress and the political parties of the United States on Panama Tolls to placate England, they can and will reverse the whole legislative past of America toward Asia to placate Japan—unless America awakes.

Or perhaps the Carnegie forces themselves may some day awake. England's alliance with Japan is not a step toward the Carnegie goal. That leads to race mixture, the disappearance of Anglican blood, not to reunion and strength.

The great mistake which England made when she made an alliance with Japan, and the perpetual evil effects of it, are characterised by one of England's brightest scholars, B. L. Putnam Weale:¹ "This harmful and ill-considered instrument is largely responsible for the complex nature which the conflict of colour has now assumed throughout the world. By making this second alliance, far more

¹ "B. L. Putnam Weale knows the East better than any western man who has written of it during this generation. . . . Mr. Weale has seen, has recorded, and is able to tell so many tangible facts regarding Eastern Asia, that it is a matter of astonishment how one man can have learned it all."—*New York Times*.

binding than the first, by completely identifying her interests with the interests of Japan before she understood what those interests might be, England deliberately sacrificed her liberty of action, not only in Eastern Asia but in every portion of the world of colour where men are able to think and act. It was but natural that the idea should quickly spread that similar consideration and similar equality of treatment would at once be given, if sufficient determination and sufficient boldness were exhibited. For the first time in her history, England placed herself by formal treaty on an absolute equality with an Asiatic race.”¹

Nor is that alliance long to remain. There will come a day when this pro-Japanese sentiment of these peace bodies will be reversed—the Anglican-Japanese alliance will be shattered, perhaps totally broken. That will be the day when Japan drives English traders, English shipping, and English control from their seats in the Far East.

English shipping already feels the competition of her young rival. Take the port of Hong Kong for instance: Japanese shipping appeared there for the first time in 1880 in the tonnage record at 20,000 tons; English shipping then had the greater part of all of it, 5,000,000 tons. But in 1904 English shipping was 6,600,000 tons; Japan’s 900,000 tons; in 1915 England’s had dropped to 5,700,000; Japan’s had risen to 2,275,000 tons.

The coming of that day is already foreshadowed by Kawakami in a bold, but subtle article in which he says: “Is it surprising that Japan should be restive and strive to intrench herself in China so firmly that no Western power will be permitted to become a dominant factor in China? . . . Great Britain has a vast sphere of influ-

¹*The Conflict of Color*, pages 113, 114, 115.

ence in China. She can afford to let Japan build a few hundred miles of railroad in the Yangtse Valley." There, Great Britain, is your challenge! That is the price Japan sets for your friendship! If you hold to your character of the past, you will not pay the price.

Japan has set the price of her friendship to America.

Count Okuma, premier of Japan, after declaring that Japanese must "take firm resolution to fight (their) way with their own energy and ability, boldly confronting the pressure of the white races," turns his attention to the California land problem in this language:

"Now, as for the California question. It would be proper to look upon this as a preliminary test to sound the capacity of the Japanese whether we are susceptible of still further development. Our future destiny may be said to depend on its successful solution. It may probably require half a century, a century, or even more. Our moderate attitude is quite likely to be interpreted as weak hearted spiritlessness, while a firm policy would only stir up the fury of anti-Japanese excitement. Really, in respect to this question we have fallen between two buffers.

"Were it not for our honest desire to shun anything like the possibility of hostilities between the two nations it might be proper . . . for us to assert strongly our reasonable claim. But preferring peace to inimical controversies we appeal only to that high sense of human justice which inspired the ancestors of the Americans when they laid the foundation of the Great Republic. Do they remember that their noble hearted ancestors appealed to the force of arms only after they had exhausted all other imaginable means to bring their differences with Great Britain to a peaceful close? Their peaceful entreaties were scornfully disregarded one after another, and the oppression became heavier. They patiently endured what was really unendurable.

"This splendid example we are now intending to follow. We are now prepared to tax our patience to the utmost.

"The Japanese public must become fully conscious of the serious fact that upon the issue of the settlement of the question depends the future welfare and prosperity of 150,000 Japanese on the Pacific Coast of the American continent and in Hawaii, and that if the result be unsuccessful we Japanese may hereafter have no outlet on the Pacific side, notwithstanding the rapid increase of population at home."

This is not a threat of war. It is simply a candid statement of the Japanese position. If Americans are not willing to concede to the Japanese the right to be assimilated with the white races, Americans will find themselves standing in the way of Japanese national necessities. Count Okuma wants peace with the United States, but he is clear on the terms on which he will be able to keep peace. Those terms are no less than the removal of all barriers to Japanese in this country, and consent to racial amalgamation with them.¹

I have no purpose to discount the motives of some Americans who are lulling us into overconfidence about the good will and good acts of other nations toward us. The wishes of these men are the fathers of their thoughts. They are good wishes, but their vision of hope has blinded their vision of fact. These men are sincere peace advocates, but their desires have led them into the most serious conclusions and error. With this interpretation of motive let us look at some things which they said never would happen, and yet which have happened. Any vital principle of action which is reversed in less than a century is too fragile to build a national destiny upon.

David Starr Jordan is a director of the World Peace Foundation, and their most distinguished advocate. No one has had more prominent place or been more positive in his addresses and writings on peace; no man has ever

¹See editorial in the *Chicago Tribune*, December 12, 1915.

had a greater reversal of the prophecies in his speeches and writings than he.

In the spring of 1914 he went to Europe to study the economic conditions and depression which, he claimed, had come from the vast waste of capital and energy put into the preparations for war. He sent back articles describing the status of credit, the rates of interest, the financial stringencies caused by the wastes of war, saying, "The year 1913 was Europe's banner year of waste. . . . Europe has stood about all it can of military waste."

And only seven days before Austria gave her ultimatum to Serbia, *only eleven days before the first gun was fired, only fourteen days before Germany declared war on England, he confidently said there would never be another European war, because of these economic conditions.* Here is his verdict, written July 17, 1914, and printed in *Harper's Weekly* in August, *three weeks after the war had begun which he said could never be*, "The safeguard against the armies and navies Europe has gathered for war is that *Europe is not rich enough to use them, and is too human and too humane to want to use them.*"

How much is his prophecy worth in another international problem involving American destiny?

Just as positive and just as bitterly mistaken as he are two other great men—Andrew Carnegie of America and Baron d'Estournelle of France.

In 1911 the latter, a permanent member of The Hague Tribunal, head of the World Association for International Conciliation, made a tour of America. His contribution to the Peace Movement is of inestimable value. In California he was received with a warmth surpassing even the far-famed hospitality of that state. He did not avoid the frankest discussion of America's relations with Japan,

and spoke with utmost confidence of Japan's future course. In Los Angeles March 28, 1911, he said:

"Let me assure you, and I know of this matter, for it has been my study for ten years, Japan does not want war with you or any other country in the world."¹

But Japan, on her own initiative, from her own desire, for her own advantage, declared a war upon Germany in 1914, and has given China more than sufficient provocation for another. Here is a contradiction between sentiment and fact that no man can explain: Japan is still supported by the sentiment of the advocates of Peace, while she goes right on always forcing her way to Empire by the means of *War*.

"Let us suppose," said Baron d'Estournelle in San Francisco, "with the most pessimistic alarmist, that Japan, starting a policy of imperialism, and megalomania, would try to monopolize the Pacific Ocean, claiming Asia for the Asiatics. It would be the beginning of its decadence and the end of its power. . . . Acting against the United States, taking by surprise or by force the Philippines and the Hawaiian Islands, it would open at the same time an era of aggression against Europe."²

Many of these things—unthinkable except to the most pessimistic alarmist—Japan has entered upon. She openly claims as her policy Asia for Asiatics; she confesses her imperialism in Korea and Manchuria and Fukien; she justifies her seizures of Shantung, and her twenty-one demands on China; and her intention to exploit China was made known by Baron Shibusawa in *The Century*, in February, 1916.

"Japan must have a place in the sun,"³ cries Kawakami, head of the Japanese Association of America, Manager

¹*The Peace Movement in America*, by Julius Moritzen, page 69.

²*Ibid.*, page 72.

³*New York Times*, signed article dated April 8, 1915.

of the Pacific Press Bureau, author of most of its propaganda distributed to the press, editor of the *Japanese-American News* of San Francisco, and an accepted voice of Japan in America.

"Japan must have a place in the sun," he says, repeating the classic phrase of imperialism of the German Emperor, in which he announced to the world his own policy of imperialism. "Japan must have a place in the sun," he continues. "Her intercourse with the enterprising aggressive Occident has already during the past fifty years infused into her fresh aspirations and energies. Had America and Europe permitted her to remain in her seclusion, she would have been well satisfied with her lot in her little archipelago. But the Occident forced Japan to open her doors at the point of the gun and imposed on her modern tools of war and industry. As a result, the Japanese has become so enterprising, that he finds his country all too small for his activities."

How clearer could be declared Japan's policy of imperialism which the good Baron said, after studying her for ten years, she never would adopt. And "she has opened at the same time an era of general aggression against Europe." She now has taken the German possessions on the mainland and all her islands in the Pacific, and Professor Frederic Starr, of the University of Chicago, declares she has no intention to withdraw from these¹—the Ladrone and the Marshall Islands, half way between the Philippines and Hawaii. She has asked England to share her privileges in England's "sphere of influence." She plans to control Fukien, opposite Formosa. "*She also will take steps to prevent the passing of any section of Chinese territory into the hands of any Western power,*" plainly says Kawakami.

Thus the noble Baron's knowledge of Japan, of which

¹Statement made April 3, 1916.

he was so certain, has been proved in error in every specific policy which he said she could never assume.

In the same volume is expressed the equal error by Mr. Carnegie. "It was Andrew Carnegie who once said that the German Empire is decidedly in favour of the peace movement. *Mr. Carnegie emphasized that William II. was above all a peace lord, not a war lord. He said whatever impressions exist to the contrary are based on ignorance of the Emperor's true nature.* Baron d'Estournelle expressed himself to the same effect while he was in America."

These hopeful, but bitterly mistaken estimates of nations and of men are not five years old, yet hundreds of thousands of Mr. Carnegie's British kin have fallen by the sword of that same peace lord, while millions of the Baron's countrymen have felt his wounds in a land ground into powder and bleeding into death. That Japan's policy against European States now in Asia may bring titanic struggles, involving the countries of Carnegie and d'Estournelle, lies easily in the realm of possibility, perhaps in a future not far away.

CHAPTER XV

THE APPEAL TO RELIGION

PART I

A TEXT AND ITS INTERPRETATION

GOD hath made of one blood all nations of men for to dwell on all the face of the earth. *Acts 17. 26.*

“It is unchristian.” That is the supreme argument of Mr. Gulick and all who battle against keeping the Pacific Coast and the United States as a white man’s land, as the founders intended it to be. Loudest of all of these are the Japanese press agents themselves. In the general play upon all our sentiments they have discovered in our religious sentiment their easiest approach.

There is no subject which a general audience of Americans is so afraid to have discussed in open forum as religion. Religion is institutional thinking. It is antipodal to individual thinking. Catholic and Protestant and Jew, Methodist and Mormon and Mohammedan, each offers to its devotees a compendium of the thought and forms of the past and says, “Take this and you can be one of us. Reject it and you can not.” The conflict of the ages has been between institutional thinking and individual thinking. Institutionalists are always fearful of the individual who rattles their dead men’s bones. That cost Christ his life.

“It is unchristian” phrases the verdict which institutional thinking, in the missionary movement, places against states and men who stand for Japanese exclusion. It is an effort, in one phrase, to throw into this conflict the inherent forces of religion itself, of the Christian church

in particular and of all those who, though not religious, still have a regard for Christian sentiment. It is a resort to institutional thinking drawing round the problem of Japanese immigration "the holy circle of the Church." The Japanese know this and from Count Okuma and all who wrote "*Japan to America*" down to the voluminous Kawakami and Iyenaga Press Bureaus, they make a soldierly use of it. They shame those who wish to maintain our exclusion laws for Asiatics, saying that such people exhibit less enlightenment than the Asiatics; they repeat again and again the keenly subtle challenge to Christianity which was written by Professor Ryutaro Nagai of Wasada University, Tokio: "We appeal to the white race to put aside their race prejudice and meet us on equal terms in brotherly co-operation. . . . If the white nations truly love peace and wish to deserve the name of Christian nation, they will practice what they preach and will soon restore to us the rights so long withheld."

Those rights, the Japanese say, are equal opportunity in white lands for all the races of the earth. And with that appeal interpreted in terms of the universal brotherhood of man and the universal fatherhood of God, many sweet American spirits are daily stung to the quick and rendered dumb before their God, because they do not see in it merely the cunning diplomacy of an aggressive people, unmindful of American welfare and unmoved by the Christian religion, so long as their own national destiny is advanced.

This appeal, as made by the Japanese, to universal brotherhood and Christianity is an hypocritical and false cry. The Japanese themselves do not practice what they preach to us. They do not give to white men equal opportunity with themselves in their own land or in their provinces. They spurn the thought of equality and brother-

hood of the negro. They limit the immigration of the Chinese. They have taken the independence and privileges from the people of Korea and have subordinated the people to Japan and Japanese. They limit the rights of other nations in their spheres of influence in China and are rapidly closing the open door in China.

This ancient trick of appealing to religion to disguise and defend an evil cause is so old that no one can tell how old it is. To quote scripture was so patent an artifice that Shakespeare made great ridicule of it. Shylock used it to defend his usury and Shakespeare thus describes that use of it:

“The devil can cite scripture for his purpose.
An evil soul, producing holy witness,
Is like a villain with a smiling cheek,
A goodly apple rotten at the heart.
O, what a goodly outside falsehood hath!”

And Richard the Third, the arch fiend of Shakespeare, used it. He killed a king, a brother, a wife and the two sweet princes; yet on occasion he donned a monk’s array, and Bible in hands played out his duping fraud, while to himself he laughed and said:

“I do the wrong, and first begin to brawl.
The secret mischiefs that I set abroad
I lay unto the grievous charge of others.
But then I sigh, and with a piece of Scripture
Tell them,—that God bids us do good for evil:
And thus I clothe my naked villainy
With old odd ends, stolen forth from holy writ;
And seem a saint, when most I play the devil.”

The appeal, as made by Americans themselves, is more honestly made, no doubt, but is no more consistent or consistently made. In response to the request of the Fed-

eral Council to the thousands of ministers to preach on peace and to remember the cause of Japan, many American ministers are making this general appeal. I heard one of them. He took for his text the scripture at the beginning of this chapter. Indeed, that text is becoming the creed of the pro-Japanese movement and the extent to which its use is spreading must be noted.

A "School Peace League" has been organised among the teachers and children of our public schools, acting with the other peace societies. In the annual report of 1912 the Secretary of this League adopted this text as the motto for the League: "God hath made of one blood all nations of men for to dwell on all the face of the earth."

The interpretation and application which they make of this text for our young children in the schools must receive serious criticism. For the interpretation is contrary to the facts of the origin of nations as established by both history and science, and must be reversed in the higher courses which these children will take later on. And they apply this interpretation to open wide our gates to all the races of men, to make of our country the free-for-all land for all the world. Thus the currents of public opinion at their very sources—the public schools—are turned awry to undermine the welfare of the nation.

So this minister interpreted and applied it. I make no attack or criticism upon the ministers of our land. Taking all of them together they have to-day the largest task, the coldest sympathy, the weakest support, the poorest pay and the hardest material prospects for their wives and children of any professional class in the world. Nor do I assault the institution we call The Church. I belong to it, work for it, believe in it; for, it is still the best institution man has through which to make progress toward a life divine. But the length to which sentimentalism in the church can be carried is illustrated by the fol-

lowing extracts taken from a sermon actually preached in one of the principal churches in Los Angeles in 1915. "The Germans and Japs can both be conquered by love. They are vulnerable on that side. Every man has a soft spot toward the fellow who is friendly. A bulwark of business and lofty spirit and forgiveness about a nation is better than an imposing navy. . . . More armies have been taken captive by perfumes than by gases. Fight skunks with miles. *Kill cannon balls with cotton bales.* It always takes the starch out of a cannon ball to give it a soft answer. . . . Every man ought to be too big to fight a baby. *Japan is just a little Tot. Germany is but a kid compared with Uncle Sam. Bring the child in and give him a cookie. Conquer with Candy.*"

Now a minister, especially a young man of fine outgoing spirit and idealistic mind, all fortified by his schooling and keened by the heart-calls in his profession, can take a text like that—Acts 17. 26—"God made of one blood" and honestly found upon it a profoundly passionate argument. He will produce the general type of argument preached in our pulpits for centuries, yet so poorly practised by the pulpiteers themselves that they go right on creating by their creeds different *church* "races" and church "nations" until now there are more than ever before.

The argument is as follows: As we all come from one common source over yonder, and as we are all going to one common end over yonder, all these distinctions of family and nation and race are artificial, accidental, unnecessary and ungodly; and as America started out to be the refuge of the oppressed, the suppressed, the depressed and the compressed of all nations, the land of the free and the home of the brave, if we are to lead the world into light and liberty, we must forget our founders, our nation and our race; we must tear up our naturalisa-

tion code, and burn our immigration laws; we must go around the wide borders of our glorious country and, opening all its doors, in all directions, we must cry aloud to all races and conditions of men: "Come on in, without limit, without money, without price, weak and lowly, sick and well, competent and incompetent; come on into this inexhaustibly rich America of ours and mixing all together in 'God's Great Melting Pot,' we shall have a millennium in America, right here and now."

So far as I am able to understand him, Dr. Edward A. Steiner would call this perfectly APPLIED CHRISTIANITY. In one of his lectures Dr. Steiner is reported as saying of those rejected at our great gate of immigration, Ellis Island: "There are more tragedies enacted every day on Ellis Island than on all the other stages of the world put together."

When once I was discussing this all-inclusive policy of immigration with the charming authoress of *The Promised Land*, she ended all hope of discussion by saying, "Are they not all *human?*"

What will you do with an argument like that? One thing you can do with it is to answer it with the last part of the same verse. It is indeed strange that that part is never quoted. I have in my scrap book a clipping from a great religious paper, an editorial, commending Dr. Gulick's New Oriental Policy. It ends with a quotation of the first half but fails to mention the second half. Either the editor is intellectually stupid or exegetically crooked, for the whole verse reads, "And hath made of one blood all nations of men for to dwell on all the face of the earth, and hath determined the times before appointed, and the bounds of their habitation."

If the first half is to be interpreted literally, then the second half is to be interpreted literally. If the first half is good to found an argument upon in a great national

problem, then the second half is good to found an argument upon in such a problem. And treating it in the same manner we may say: When the Creator made the nations of men he expected them to remain as distinct as he made them and he saw that it would be necessary first to determine the bounds of their habitations; and after having determined these boundaries, here and there and there, all over the face of the earth, he made the nations of men and put them into these bounds; and he expected them to stay right where he put them in their habitations here and there and there or he would not have made any bounds for their habitations here and there and there!

One of these arguments is not more absurd than the other. This text is taken from the opening words of Paul's speech to the Athenians in which he was revealing God as the *one Creator of all things*. "His spirit was stirred in him, when he saw the city wholly given to idolatry." (v. 16.) Against all these gods he set his one God. Here is his speech up to the part we are discussing. "Ye men of Athens, I perceive that in all things ye are too superstitious. For as I passed by, and beheld your devotions, I found an altar with this inscription, TO THE UNKNOWN GOD. Whom therefore ye ignorantly worship, him declare I unto you. *God* that made the world and all things therein, seeing that he is Lord of heaven and earth, dwelleth not in temples made with hands; neither is worshipped with men's hands, as though he needed any thing, seeing he giveth to all *life*, and breath, and *all things*; and hath made of one blood all nations of men for to dwell on all the face of the earth, and hath determined the times before appointed, and the bounds of their habitation."

When Paul said that he was not speaking as an ethnologist, biologist, a sociologist, or a scientist of any kind, but as a monotheist against their polytheism. What Paul

expressed in this text in imagery natural to his mind is the essential unity of human life—just as one would express the essential unity of bird life or tree life or plant life.

These few words are not to be isolated from their context and used as a warrant and a command to bring all nations into every land—or to recross all races as if to revert to the old source. After thousands of generations of differentiation, to recross the radical races of black, yellow and white men because of the existence of one God and the essential unity of human life were no more sensible than to cross an apple tree, a hickory tree, and a palm tree because of the existence of one God and the essential unity of tree life.

There are some facts upon which all the great scholars of the world are agreed, and all the great Universities teach them: Races and nations are the results of historic development changing and responsive to determinable influences; and the times of their existence and the bounds of their habitations are also the results of historic developments wrought by forces vast and varying. Nor is this teaching in slightest disagreement with right understanding of the Scriptures.

PART II

CHRISTIANITY, RELIGION, MORALS AND GOVERNMENT OF JAPAN

“THE cunning diplomacy of an aggressive people unmoved by the Christian religion.”

Church people in the United States seem to have a very mistaken notion of the morals and religion of Japan, and particularly of the impression which Christianity, as a religion, has made upon the Japanese and most especially of the regard they have for it. This notion comes from missionary enthusiasm. Success in missionary work is

based largely on good will and good report just the same as in any other business, and missionary methods are determined by that fact just as they are in any other business. The assaults made on Asiatic exclusion and land laws by the furloughed missionaries from Japan make them the more acceptable to Japan when they go back. Not one of them could have influence with the government and people in Japan if he chose to stand for Japanese exclusion from America. The missionaries in China stand for Chinese interests against Japan—the Japanese missionaries are aggressively for Japan.

A group of missionaries in China, in March, 1915, sent to President Wilson a great telegram of six thousand words, costing \$5,000, protesting against the deception and bad faith of Japan, and asked America to come to the rescue of China. This famous telegram ended with this sentence: "Shall we go on forever being fooled by fair speeches made at full dress banquets in the Japanese Capital?" These missionaries to China are *persona non grata* now in Japan. In this light we must understand the medical missionary, Dr. Teusler, of Tokio, who, October 14, 1915, said of American criticism on Japan's spoliation of China that "Bluster and shirt-sleeve politics in California, Colonel Roosevelt's policy, when President, of talking too much about 'America must dominate the Pacific' have inflamed the Japanese people." He fully endorsed Japan's seizure of China; he claims Japan is maintaining the open door; that her twenty-one demands only form her Monroe Doctrine. We know what that endorsement will do for him in Japan.

"The Religious Rambler" in *The North American* of Philadelphia, April 10, 1915, said:

"From the first Japan has been keen to see the important part that the missionaries may have in shaping public opinion both at home and abroad. The Japanese Government

has freely recognized and decorated missionary leaders. She has invited and welcomed deputations of Americans interested in missions and many of the religious papers and peace organisations have been enlisted on the side of Japan. It has been said that Japan could afford to pay the bills of the American missionaries working within her borders, because of the service that has been rendered her in this country by the missionaries and friends of missionaries."

In all this the missionaries in the different countries are not acting basely, but naturally. They are not playing a game, but living a law. They simply have a sympathetic identification with the country and the people they work with and that identification may become so perfect that they may oppose the interests and upturn the destiny of their home lands.

But what result has all this missionary effort had on the religions of Japan? Very little. Americans make the mistake of confusing two things—that Japan can adopt the industrial arts of Christianity without accepting Christianity as a religion. And that is what she is doing. Religion to the Japanese *has no such relation to life* as it has with us, and Christianity has not affected that relation.

The Japanese Year Book for 1915 which is published in Japan for use by Japanese and indorsed in a preface by Count Okuma, the head of the Government, makes some wonderful admissions. Under the heading "Religion" is this statement:

"Amidst the vast changes that have come over Japan during this half century, the religious world stands conspicuous for its comparative stationary aspect, as far as its work of evangelisation is concerned. Just as in former days, the upper and intellectual classes remain, on the whole, indifferent towards religious doctrines of all persuasions; and it is only in the middle and lower classes that they (religions) are looked up to for guidance in this world and next.

"Shintoism continues to occupy a unique position, being a cult of Ancestor worship both to the Imperial Court and people, and a connecting link, as it were, between them and their common ancestors; for it should be noted that Japanese historians of old school make it out that the Imperial Court and the majority of its subjects are descendants of one stock. . . .

"Shintoism has apparently acquired greater importance since the war (1915)." ¹

"Shintoism sums up the theory of human duty in the following injunction: 'Follow your natural impulses and obey the law of the State.' " ²

Christianity is now having its second trial in Japan. It was first planted there in 1549 by Spain. In the year 1600 there were, through the efforts of these Spanish missionaries, a million Christians in Japan. But the Emperor of Japan issued a decree in 1630 which resulted in the elimination of the new religion and the "wholesale slaughter of the rebels. The cause of Christianity fell to the ground. From that time until 1873, when the prohibition was revoked, Christianity was merely a matter of memory and even of terror to the people of Japan." ³

That decree is so characteristic that it is of great interest.

"So long as the sun shall continue to warm the earth, let no Christian be so bold as to come to Japan; and let all know that the King of Spain himself, or the Christian god, or the great god of all, if he dare violate this command *shall pay for it with his head.*"

The following table shows that, of the total population of Japan proper, estimated at only 50,000,000, the Catholic Churches have about 80,000, or sixteen one-

¹ *Japanese Year Book*, 1915.

² Clement, *Handbook of Japan*, page 237.

³ *Japanese Year Book*, page 226.

hundredths of one per cent. of the people. The Protestants have 85,000 or about seventeen one hundredths of one per cent. Thus, together the Christians have about one-third of one per cent. of the people. And this is the total result up to date not only of all the missionary effort of the United States, but of England and Germany and *all the rest of the Christian world*.

Mr. Millis says of the Japanese in California, where they are enveloped in Christian environment, that only about four or five per cent. have embraced Christianity. The remainder, of course, both in Japan and California are devoted to their old faiths of Shintoism and Buddhism.

STATISTICS OF CHRISTIAN CHURCHES IN JAPAN
JAPAN YEAR BOOK

	SHRINES OR CHURCHES	MINISTERS	NO. BELIEVERS
Shintoism	127,076	14,352	
Buddhists	71,730	53,268	
Catholic, Roman	189	198	65,616
Russo-Greek	131	222	14,206
Churches of Christ	233	377	21,018
Congregational	130	171	15,847
Episcopal	212	415	16,215
Baptist	69	125	4,299
Methodist	187	373	13,356
Independent	30	40	2,443
Salvation Army	33	54	2,417
Total, including others ¹	1,356	2,255	164,054

¹The others cover the Mifu, Fumi, Gospel, Gospel Rojo, Scandinavian-Japan Alliance, Christian and Missionary Alliance, Dobo, Fiukyu Fukuin, Japan Universalist, Friend, Kirisuto, Christian, etc.

Therefore American churchmen must make this clear distinction—Christianity as a term used loosely to indicate a system of material development in some places is changing (but very slowly) Japan's ways of doing the business of life: Christianity as a religion has scarcely made an impression on Japan. As their own religion has so recently carried their Empire to strength, wealth and glory —and as they now see the *Christian nations in the fratricide of a world war*, there is no reason apparent to them why they should change, even if they could; or why they should not regard their religion and morals infinitely superior to our own, as they do. Japan's appeal, therefore, for us to meet her "in Christianly co-operation" receives no force, either from her own use of the principle in dealing with other men, or from her acceptance of that religion by her own people.

While Christianity has made such slow progress among the Japanese, their own cults have not been weakened. One of these cults about parallels the time of the Christian effort in Japan, being founded by one Tademune, who died in 1850. He was the son of a priest and claimed he had a heavenly vision. His parents had died of consumption and he himself became bed-ridden not only because of consumption but because of grief. Since grief, he argued, had brought him down, a cheerful optimism should lift him up. He cheered up and worshipped the grace and beauty of heaven. Next he worshipped the sun. Gradually he was cured. He did not regard it as a miracle but a scientific result. He was fat-cheeked and looked his cheerful doctrine, and so won multitudes. His sect now has 531 chapels, 400,000 members and 3,000,000 adherents.¹ What comparison has Christianity made with that?

If Christianity has made little impression on the reli-

¹Details from *East and West News*.

gions of Japan, western ideas of government have made no more. When Japan adopted a constitution a few years ago—modeled they say on ours—Americans at once jumped to the conclusion that Japan had established a liberal government. This is a mistake.

"From a cursory view of this instrument one might form the opinion that Japan had established a Constitution quite on the Western order, but a critical examination of it will quickly convince any constitutional lawyer that most of the provisions of the instrument which make the favorable impression are illusory. The Constitution itself is only an Imperial edict, and changed the existing law therefore only in so far as the Emperor himself wished to do so. We find that the tenure of the Emperor is primogeniture under the male line of the family, by agnatic succession; that his term is eternal; that his person is holy and inviolable; that he is head of the state and exercises the sovereign power; that the Constitution can be amended only upon his proposition; that he has not only the usual executive power of commanding the Army and Navy, appointing and dismissing all the civil and military officials, supervising the execution of the laws, granting reprieves and pardons, and sending and receiving ambassadors and other public ministers and consuls, but he has also power to fix the war and peace footing of army and navy, their organisation and the salaries of all officials both military and civil; the power to declare war, make peace and conclude treaties and agreements with foreign states; the power to declare the empire in a state of siege and suspend all rights of subjects during any such period; the power to call, open, adjourn and prorogue the legislature and dissolve the lower house thereof; the power to appoint the presiding officers of the legislative bodies—the House of Lords and the House of Deputies; the power virtually to constitute the House of Lords; also the power to initiate legislation and to veto all projects of legislation absolutely; the power not only to make the ordinances for the administration of the laws, but to make ordinances which shall

have the force of law in case the legislature is not in session, and when he shall deem it necessary for the public security and public welfare;—and finally the power to control the expenditures in the exercise of his sovereign rights, etc. The powers of the Emperor make the Legislature virtually a debating society, despite the fact that the members of the Chamber of Deputies are elected by the male subjects over 25 years of age and paying about \$7.00 a year tax.

“The Japanese are organised under this Constitution for the exercise of strong military power, for presenting a united front against foreign powers and for restraining internal disorder, but it sacrifices Liberty to Government again and makes *but little advance over the other Asiatic states* in the maintenance of both Liberty and Government, and the harmonizing of both in a maturely developed political system of superior order.”¹

Americans are not less mistaken about what the religion and the morals of Japan really are. The Japan that has been idealised to us by the cherry blossom and wisteria writers does not exist. Travellers, correspondents, students, unbiased by decorations or self-interest, all declare this. To American visitors the Japanese exhibit the innocent flower but hide the serpent under it.

The following story was told the writer by a very distinguished educator. He was travelling with a group of sixteen or more who were professors of education and history in leading American Universities. They had set aside eighteen days for a study of Japan at first hand. They were met at the pier by distinguished Japanese men who had been their students in America and others who were officials in Japan. They were shown the highest

¹Jno. W. Burgess, Ph.D., Ju.D., LL.D., formerly Professor of Political Science and Constitutional Law—Dean of the faculties of Political Science, Philosophy and Pure Science of Columbia University; in his great work, “The Reconciliation of Government and Liberty.”

respect and every courtesy—with dinners and receptions. After a couple of days of this the Americans expressed their delight with these attentions, but said that, as they had come to Japan for personal and intimate study of it, on the morning they should like to be left to themselves to go about as they pleased and without notice. To this the Japanese replied that it would be too great a discourtesy to allow such distinguished friends to depart without giving full expression of the regard of Japan, that each day had been planned for them, and that thus they could see and learn far more than in any other way. "We were obliged to yield," he said, "and when we left Japan we all knew that we had seen only what the Japanese wanted us to see and had learned only what they wished us to learn."

Within three years the Mikado has declared to the world that Shintoism is to remain the religion of the Japanese and has placed limitations upon the work of the teachers of Christianity. How could he do otherwise? He is the soul and centre of Shintoism. In Shintoism there is no concept to correspond to our idea of deity; deity—a supreme spiritual power in whom are all things—to whom all life is accountable. Until you stop and get this clearly in your mind, you can never understand the Japanese in their religion. The vast space which deity fills in our life is blank in theirs, or is filled by other concepts. This fact affects all their attitudes to all the facts of life—love, marriage, family, worship, government, truth, chastity and the life hereafter.

They believe their ancestors persist in the hereafter and become spiritual forces interested in earthly affairs, but these spirits are not subordinate to a deity, bending to his throne, nor does their spiritual life or happiness depend upon his favour or judgment. Their heaven has no judge. The status of their spiritual continuance hereafter

is a mere sequel of their lives here—their ranks there are relative to their ranks and characters here.

The Emperor thus occupies the centre of their devotion, for his ancestry is supreme. He is the direct descendant of Amaterasu the virgin *goddess* who married the Sun; the Sun and the Sun-goddess are the greatest objects of worship and reverence, and the Emperor, their son and earthly representative, is the centre of their religion—a god descended from god ancestors. The new Constitution of Japan, article III, is brief and clear. “The Emperor is sacred and inviolable.” And article VII proclaims that the Emperor and his blood shall rule Japan generation after generation, ages without end. Though it is called a constitutional government, Professor Burgess calls their constitution “a charter of despotism”; it is the most perfect embodiment of the idea of the divine right of kings to rule—for they have both god and king in one man. This is the strongest combination for control in the world.

Likewise to understand Japanese morals you must know the central idea of their moral code. Morals are but the rules for the game of life. They develop slowly about a central principle. That central principle in the morals of Christian civilisation is Truth; our laws and courts, our social and economic life are based in truth. Of the Japanese moral code the centre, says the historian, Philip Van Ness Myers,¹ is Loyalty; the finest expression of that loyalty is to their ancestors; it reaches its perfection in loyalty to their god-king, the Emperor.

Can you not see, with loyalty as their chief virtue, how truth may take and does take a very subordinate place? and how the Japanese with perfect righteousness may transgress the whole of our moral law? To be loyal one

¹*History of Past Ethics.*

may need to misrepresent and to lie, wherein lying becomes a virtue; one may need to kill himself or another, and murder is a virtue; a wife or a daughter or sister may need sacrifice her chastity to support a parent or husband, and prostitution is a virtue. Then, having been loyal to both parents and ancestors, these women enter, without social discredit, the regular life of the people. When unchastity is thus established as a virtue by the basic ideal of their moral code, what can you expect its practice to be among the masses of the people?

In support of these statements I submit some quotations from "History as Past Ethics," the fourth and final work in the series of historical textbooks written by Philip Van Ness Myers which are known in every high school and college in America. He says:

"The Emperor's command is to his subjects as the command of God to us and obedience must be perfect and unquestioning. . . . Patriotism with the Japanese is in large measure a religious feeling. Indeed Patriotism has been called the religion of the Japanese. It is this virtue exalted to a degree which the world has never seen surpassed which has contributed more than any other quality of the Japanese character to make Japan a great nation and to give her the victory over a powerful foe, in one of the most gigantic wars of modern times."

Again he says:

"The code of honour of the Japanese Knight (The Samurai) did not include any special duty to woman. 'Neither God nor the ladies inspired any enthusiasm in the Samurai's breast.' Its prime virtue was personal loyalty to one's superior. Fealty to one's chief was so dominant a virtue that it overshadowed all other virtues. In the defence or in the service of his lord a Samurai might commit, without offence to his sense of moral right practically any crime, such as blackmailing, lying, treachery or even murder."

Also :

"As respects the position of woman the family ethics of Japan are the family ethics of the East. The family is not strictly monogamous as with us. The moral sense of the Japanese discerns nothing wrong in polygamy or concubinage. Five per cent. of the men have concubines. *As respects the whole relation of marriage the Japanese appear to be in about the same stage of evolution as had been reached by the Hebrews at the time of Abraham.*"

Sir Edwin Arnold who lived long in Japan and married a Japanese woman said,

"The central idea in Japanese life is obedience to parents and reverence for ancestors. Should a Japanese father have misfortune his daughter would think it her filial duty to sell her body. She would not be regarded as fallen or disgraced, but as having done a right and noble deed, and might afterward be restored to her place in society."

So strongly then do loyalty and history and character and morals bind them to their Emperor and their land. How can a Japanese forsake his Emperor and be deemed by his people worthy to live? for he forsakes his morals, his religion, his ancestors, his people, his god and his king. No people have such a powerful basis for patriotism, and I understand and honour their burning devotion to their land. Nor are the qualities so often ascribed to the Japanese—politeness, gentleness, industry, thrift, the love of nature and art—inconsistent with this moral code. *These are not the cardinal virtues*, and they may be possessed in common by peoples whose essential motives, ideals and civilisations are incompatible, one destroying the other.

Again, the religion of Japan is pagan. We recently witnessed the making of an emperor. In all that ceremony there was no worship of a god except the Sun and the Sun-goddess and the symbols which represent them.

According to the ancient pagan customs, (in which Japanese statesmen gloried, saying Japan had gone back for them over a thousand years)—the emperor dressed in ancient robes, carried the ancient relics, bowed before the ancient mirror, wherein the Sun-goddess dwells, to tell her that he, her son, was now the living God, the one hundred and sixtieth of her sons in direct succession, and the Emperor of Japan—and the ceremony was ended.

So long as the masses of Japan remain as they are within this realm of government, morals and religion, if we merely superpose ours upon theirs, *our Christianity will be modified as well as their paganism.*¹ The mere sentimental admiration which some Americans have for Japan has already compromised their attitude toward pagan rites, and I am well aware of the harsh criticism that will be launched by them for the mere writing of the truth in this chapter. When this pagan coronation was in progress, who heard any Christian minister preach against the lure of their pagan rites? Who raised his voice or dipped his pen about them? Were we not rather entertained by the stories of their sweetness, their simplicity, their ancient order, the tenderness of their devotion to ancestors, and the richness of the costumes of the ceremonial? Does this not indicate that already there has taken place a mental compromise with them.

At the end of this coronation some American papers carried an article entitled, "The Great Advance Japan is

¹This thought is expressed by the Japanese. The *Japan Year Book*, speaking of the general failure of the Conference of Religions to produce any practical results, says:

"There seems, however, to be a general belief, that the future religion of the country will be Christianity, but it is equally probable that Christianity will take a form of development which will be *peculiar to the country and will offer some noteworthy differences from the religion as practiced in general.*"—The *Japan Year Book*, 1913-14, p. 286.

Making Toward Christianity." It said that only fifty years ago the Mikado would not receive the gift of a Christian Bible, but that the new Mikado had accepted, as a souvenir of his coronation, a Christian Bible, presented to him by some ministers of the Pacific Coast, and from this incident the conclusion was drawn that Christianity is making a great advance in Japan.

Now let us describe that Bible. It was specially bound in white leather, the leather sacred to the ancestral gods; on the outside was embossed the glowing image of the sun, the father-god of the whole Imperial line; within were embossed the entwined flags of America and Japan; illumined by other figures of the sun god. What would St. Paul, the first missionary, have said, had he been there, to see the spiritual religion of his Christ, presented to a pagan Emperor, in a pagan ceremonial, embossed with the images of the pagan gods? To such mental compromises have the pro-Japanese Christians come. Yet they cry aloud against those who oppose their position, "It is un-Christian."

But now from a very different angle we must look at this appeal made in the name of religion to admit the Japanese into America. Those who raise the Christian cry do it because they believe that Japan will not accept Christianity, nor can we consistently offer it to her, until we are willing to accept Japanese in full fraternity into America. *And they believe that Christianity is an immediate solution for the whole Asiatic problem!* That is fundamentally wrong. There is nothing in the world now, nothing in the history of the past to establish that hope. The origin and nature of religions, the motives and functions of religions do not establish it.

The conflict between the United States and Japan comes from economic inequalities. The United States

has what Japan wants. The standard of living in the United States is eleven times as high as it is in Japan—that is a terrible economic pressure—having in it the potentiality of war. The church applies religion to level these economic heights and depths and to prevent war. But religion cannot alter the factors that make a standard of living.¹ That is determined by natural resources, the ratio of men to land and the status of development of mechanical arts. In the civil war two halves of one Christian land fought each other, in this world war all the great Christian lands but ours are fighting each other. And so it has ever been. The religions of Asia sway as strongly and are loved as dearly as our own, and they sit in their mighty seats with the persistence of vast ages; if you consider the slow rate at which the Christian religion has advanced in Asia and the weakness with which it has restrained the world from war you cannot see in it a sufficient solution of the American-Japanese Problem.

Dr. Myers ends his treatise on Japanese morals with the following estimate of the probable effect Christianity will have upon Japanese morals:

“The moral life of the Japanese people is too virile and too essentially sound to permit us to think that the new influences now coming in will produce such radical changes in the ethical feelings and convictions of the race as to result in a repetition of what happened upon the entrance of Christianity into the morally decadent Greco-Roman world—the displacement of the old ideal of character by a new and essentially different ideal.”²

¹Standard of living must not be confused with standard of morals. The standard of morals may be very high where there is a low standard of living—and frequently morals are low where the standard of living is high. Standard of living is an economical term. Standard of morals is an ethical term.

²*History as Past Ethics*, p. 94.

Let us state the situation thus; Japan through thousands of years has evolved her folk-ways¹ and mores;¹ these are all the congeries of ideas, customs, habits and rules governing individuals and masses in the game of society. The people of the United States from very different beginnings under very different conditions have evolved their folk-ways and mores. These two congeries are radically different and in many points opposing and antagonistic. Conflict between these groups is natural and inevitable; for it is the very nature of social evolution for different societal groups to struggle for selection, transmission and survival.

"That such a struggle between groups characterised by different codes of mores shall never cease is a matter which is settled in the order of the universe. The struggle for existence—the securing of a food supply—is, in itself, sufficient to assure conflict between organic beings of all grades. There will always be conflict where there are wants and insufficient means to satisfy all. And it is provided in human nature that wants multiply and diversify as they are about to be satisfied. And when the habit of association has been evolved, then the struggle is group-wise. Driven by their interests, groups of all sizes, from the race-group down to the smallest, are always in conflict of some kind with their competitors. . . . Group conflict has never ceased and it is unthinkable that it should cease while there are wants towards whose satisfaction men must strive, but for whose universal satisfaction there is insufficiency of means in the world. Thus are the exponents of diverging codes of mores led into unceasing conflict with each other. This struggle may take place in diverse fields—military, industrial, political—and it is of various degrees of intensity."²

Now it is evident that the religion of one group will

¹Terms given definite meanings by Sumner, Keller, and others.

²Keller, *Societal Evolution*, pages 56 and 62.

not resolve this group conflict into peace. For religion not only forms a great part of the mores of each group for which each contends, but religion is the most uncompromising factor in each; it is itself sufficient to drive one group into militant struggle with another, and many times has it done so.

What then? Shall we cease to carry Christianity into the Orient? No, rather shall we increase our effort. But we must not propose Christianity as a supernatural means to achieve material ends; not a religious solution for economic problems; not a spiritual leveler of unequal standards of living; not a justification for the mixture of the races; not a guarantor of immediate peace in Asia any more than it has been such in Europe. We must work from purer motives and wiser view, because of the *value of Christianity per se*—its value in the individual life; its value in forming the mores and directing the energies of societal groups; that we may evolve by infinite patience through the man soul, the group soul, the national soul and the racial soul, that ultimate world soul, which will clothe itself in institutions full of harmony and happiness.

PART III

BASES OF OPINION, OLD AND NEW

"Society is to be led toward the goal along routes intelligently laid out with due regard to human nature and to the obscure tendencies that lurk in the social deeps."—From *The Foundations of Sociology*, by Prof. E. A. Ross, University of Wisconsin.

CHAPTER XVI

A JAPANESE FIVE PER CENT.! WHAT?

THE SUBTERFUGE OF A PERCENTAGE LIMITATION

We must now examine the corner-stone of "The New Oriental Policy."

Mr. Gulick, representing the Federal Council of Churches of America, has recently made a tour of the Pacific Coast pleading for Japanese immigration and citizenship. He has published a pamphlet containing letters and resolutions by some prominent men and organisations indorsing his so called "New Oriental Policy." These favourable opinions are based on Mr. Gulick's representation that his plan will diminish rather than increase Asiatic immigration. I am quite sure that those who gave them have not studied and figured out the results of his plan. Let us do so.

The corner-stone of Mr. Gulick's "New Oriental Policy" is the limitation of the number of immigrants upon a percentage basis applicable to all countries alike. The plan is to naturalise, taking into American citizenship, once and forever, every alien of every race that we admit into this country, and to limit the number we admit from any land by the following rule:

"The maximum number of immigrants in a single year from any nation, race, or group having a single 'mother tongue' shall be: Five per cent of those from the same land who are already naturalised American citizens, including their American born children."¹

¹*American Japanese Problem*, by Sidney L. Gulick, page 285.

This percentage limit is the great argument he makes for his whole policy, because he says it would decrease what he calls the undesirable masses coming from Southern Europe; it would permit more to come than do come from England, Germany, France and Scandinavia, and it would solve the whole problem of the Asiatics by placing them on a par with all the rest of the world; at the same time, it would hold Japanese and Chinese immigrants down to a small and insignificant number each year *because there are so few here to begin with.* . . .

His table showing how many might so enter from the different nations, represents the very harmless looking numbers of 738 for Chinese and 220 for Japanese; that is, in his book, (page 287). But in a pamphlet he has, for some reason, put these numbers up to 1,107 for Chinese and 1,220 for Japanese.

This plan has been received favourably by many good people, even on the Pacific Coast, because it appears so perfectly easy and so harmless. "Surely," they say, "so small a number would never interfere with American interests in any way."

This proposal is a dangerous deception and subterfuge. A nation should not reverse a principle of its founders, which has stood for a century and a quarter, upon calculations of one year or two or ten. We must look centuries ahead and enter upon no course that will entail upon future generations burdens not equally borne by ourselves. Under this test, Mr. Gulick's plan breaks down, for it is a plan of increasing burdens and slow national and racial suicide. Let us see.

There are now in round numbers, according to the *Japanese-American Year Book* and other sources, 100,000 Japanese in the United States mainland; there are 80,000 more in the Hawaiian Islands, and some more in our other insular possessions. About three-fourths of that

100,000 are concentrated in California and nine-tenths on the Pacific Coast. All these would at once be given American citizenship and would become the basis of calculation on the Gulick plan. To give all Japanese now in America the rights of citizenship is the one thing that all the Japanese and the pro-Japanese demand. Baron Shibusawa especially insists that the Japanese now in America shall have the same privileges as the immigrants from other lands. Kawakami urges upon naturalisation for the Japanese now here. Doremus E. Scudder, the sponsor for the latest Japanese effort toward citizenship, the Ozawa case in Honolulu, wrote an editorial in favor of his naturalisation which was reprinted and distributed by Kawakami through his press bureau. Hamilton Holt and Mr. Gulick demand it; the contributors to The Japan Society's books and pamphlets all plead for it. We may be sure that when the bill comes before Congress, the Japanese Ambassador will not be idle. In fact, to naturalise those now here would be the only practical and logical beginning, for we could not conceive of making the new arrivals citizens and keeping the old residents aliens. The plan will begin then with about 100,000 Japanese naturalised on the mainland.

A five per cent. increase on 100,000 will admit the first year 5,000 Japanese, besides children under a certain age, and all others excepted from the count in Mr. Gulick's proposed exceptions, which will be given later. There is no doubt that eighty per cent. of these would remain in California, and ninety per cent. on the Pacific Coast—a number sufficient to affect *at once* the labor and other economic conditions there. The second year the basis will be 105,000 with an increase of 5,250. What will have happened at the end of the present century? Surely, our Japanese friends will agree that we should look ahead at least that short a time.

A five per cent. increase added annually doubles the original number every fourteen years and seventy-four days. There are eighty-four years yet in this century, so the original number would be doubled six times. That would place in the United States in the year 2000, when some children now born will still be living, 6,400,000 Japanese exclusive of the natural increase of their number. The population by the fourteen-year periods, without counting the natural increase, will be as follows:

1916—	100,000	Japanese in the United States.				
1930—	200,000	"	"	"	"	"
1944—	400,000	"	"	"	"	"
1958—	800,000	"	"	"	"	"
1972—	1,600,000	"	"	"	"	"
1986—	3,200,000	"	"	"	"	"
2000—	6,400,000	"	"	"	"	"

Thus, without counting any natural increase whatever, there would be in the United States as many Japanese as there are people all told now in the following states: The three Pacific states—California, Oregon and Washington; plus all in the next tier of states east—Idaho, Nevada and Arizona; plus the next tier—Montana, Wyoming; Utah, New Mexico, and one half of Colorado—ten and one half states.

Now, let us count the natural increase of births over deaths, that is, the natural growth of population. The Mongolian races, Asiatics generally, produce four generations in the same number of years that the white race produces three. Our generations are counted roughly at thirty-five years; the Asiatics at twenty-six to twenty-eight years. In the hearing before the Committee of Immigration of the House of Representatives, February 13, 1914, Mrs. R. F. Patterson, wife of the American Consul General of Calcutta for ten years, testified that the

Hindu girls go through a form of marriage at eight, nine, or ten, and marry at the age of twelve or fourteen and frequently are grandmothers at the age of twenty-five. Counting twenty-eight years as a generation, as would certainly seem fair, there are three such generations yet in this century.

The Japanese are the only great people in the last fifty years that have had a steadily increasing birth rate. Mullhall, the great authority on statistics of this kind, choosing for comparison a period from 1871 to 1900, says: "The birth rate has almost universally fallen during 1871-1900. The principal exception is Japan whose birth rate has increased throughout that period."

The population of Japan from 1872 to 1914 shows an increase of forty per cent. for any period of twenty-eight years. There are three such periods yet in this century. It is a fair and safe basis upon which to calculate their racial increase, especially under the improved condition of expansion which they will find in America. Let us see how this affects our table, which now will show (a) the number admitted on the five per cent. basis, (b) the natural increase, and (c) the total for each generation to the end of the century, showing at that time 7,110,400.

Mainland of the United States	Total Admitted by 5% annually	Increase of 40% per generation	Total population
1916—100,000 to begin			
1944—End 1st Generation	400,000	40,000	440,000
1972—End 2nd Generation	1,600,000	176,000	1,776,000
2000—End 3rd Generation	6,400,000	710,400	7,110,400

So much for Japanese on the mainland. But this does not consider the five per cent. admitted annually based upon those in the Hawaiian Islands. Their present number being 80,000, their increase in number by immigration would be as follows:

1916	—	80,000 in Hawaii	
1930	—	End 1st period.....	160,000
1944	—	2nd “	320,000
1958	—	3rd “	640,000
1972	—	4th “	1,280,000
1986	—	5th “	2,560,000
2000	—	6th “	5,120,000

In like manner counting their increase for 1st, 2nd, and 3rd generations based on 80,000, we have the following table of natural increase:

In the Hawaiian Islands 1916—80,000 to begin	Admitted by 5% annually	Total	Increase	Total generation population
		of 40% per generation	per year	
1944—End of 1st Generation	320,000	32,000	352,000	
1972—End of 2nd Generation	1,280,000	140,800	1,420,800	
2000—End of 3rd Generation	5,120,000	586,320	5,688,320	

Thus, in the year 2000, the total number of Japanese in United States and Hawaii will be 12,879,720.

Would all these Japanese based on Hawaii remain in Hawaii? It is likely that only a small part of them would do so. Before the President's Decree and the Gentleman's Agreement of 1907, these islands had become a mere halting place on the way. Mr. Millis says: "For some years, however, this direct immigration was greatly augmented by an unfortunate indirect immigration by way of the Hawaiian Islands. A large number of Japanese who had gone to work there on the sugar plantations came to the mainland, seeking higher wages or better opportunities to establish their independence of the wage relation than were offered in the islands. Still others, when the Japanese Government discouraged emigration to the continental United States emigrated to Hawaii as a stepping stone to the Pacific Coast. Thus, against 39,531 admitted directly from Japan during the years

1902 to 1907, some 32,855 are reported to have sailed from Honolulu to the mainland."¹

The conditions of the relatively low standard of living of the mixed peoples of these islands compared to the standard of the mainland will continue; so there will continue the motives to land these Japanese immigrants on the Pacific Coast. Besides, as American citizens, they will be entitled to go when and where they please. The mainland will draw them because of its greater economic and social attractions. Of the 5,688,000 possible emigrants to the islands, it is reasonable to say that not over half a million would remain on the islands. Thus, there would be a population of 12,000,000 or more Japanese on the continent in the year 2000. This equals the present population of all the following states: California, Oregon, Idaho, Washington, Nevada, Arizona, Montana, Utah, Wyoming, Colorado, New Mexico, North Dakota, Nebraska, Kansas, and Oklahoma—sixteen American states!

But, so far, we have considered only the Japanese. The five per cent. increase is to apply to the Chinese, Syrians, Hindus, and all the Malay and Mongolian peoples. What numbers will be entitled to come from these? The *World Almanac* of 1915 gives the Chinese population of the United States as 71,531. That of Hawaii is not less than 22,000. Besides, there are in the United States "properly entered" nearly 7,000 Hindus. The Commissioner General of Immigration, before the hearing on Hindus, February 13, 1914, gave it as his opinion that there are all told about 20,000 Hindus who have secured entrance to this country. Besides, there are Syrians, Persians and others. The total of all these is much more than another 100,000 Asiatics. By the year 2000, they will aggregate on the five per cent. basis another 7,110,400 Asiatics, bringing our total Asiatic increment up to about 20,000,-

¹*The Japanese Problem in the United States.*

000 people. That equals the present population of all the states but one west of the Mississippi River. It is twice as much as the total negro population of the United States at present; it about equals what the population of the United States was in 1850—at the end of the first seventy-five years of our national life. By maintaining this average rate of increase, the Asiatic population of the United States would reach our present total population of 100,000,000 some time between 2035 and 2040. And long before that time, the five per cent. limitation will be a thing dead and forgotten—for Asia herself within the door will have pushed it as wide open as she pleases.

But if the percentage limit is ever set on all immigration into the United States, it is likely to be set at more than five per cent. The Burnett Bill, when in committee, set the limit at ten per cent. for those nations whose people may come at all under existing laws. When Asiatics are included on equal footing with other nations, as Rev. Gulick proposes, this ten per cent. will apply to them also. We must either reduce the European limit to five per cent. or apply the higher limit to Asiatics. Is there any indication or hope in Congress that the European limit can be made less than ten per cent? On the ten per cent. basis, the Asiatic population in the United States will double each ten years—even if, instead of being compounded, the limit be held constant through a census period; this will bring into the United States by the end of the century 76,800,000 Asiatics; and counting their natural increase as in the other tables for three generations, we shall have 80,992,000 Asiatics in America, to say nothing of Filipinos, Hawaiians and Africans—and their pigmented progeny.

I once showed these figures to a friend who had been won to Mr. Gulick's five per cent. plan because it looked so innocent to him. He could not surrender to these facts

at once and merely said, "Pigs is pigs." Whoever has read that fantastic story will see the point this friend of the five per cent. tried to make—that these figures also are merely fantastic.

What is there improbable about them? Is there any doubt that the five per cent. plan once begun will be continued each year? To deny that would be to negative the whole Asiatic question; it is likely to be increased as the Burnett Bill proposed a ten per cent. general increase. Is there any doubt that the full quota of the five per cent. will come each year? To doubt that would be to deny the existence of the economic drive behind the Japanese Asiatic problem and under the whole world in modern times.

Let me illustrate with a story. One day I was in my overalls on my ranch working among many thousands of young citrus trees. In one part doing one kind of work were some negroes, in another part three Mexicans, and at my hand several Japanese, (I haven't the slightest race prejudice or personal feeling against the individuals of these races, and I engage to work on my ranch any kind of a man who will do a day's work in a day), and I said to the Japanese nearest me, "Boy, why do all you Japanese want to come into the United States?" He glanced at the foreman to inquire if he might answer. He got the signal that he could and then he said, "Me make much money in California in one month as me make home, in Japan, in five years."

That's the answer. It's the economic impulse—the greatest force in the world, against which no natural barrier has ever stood. It's the lust for gold, the strongest passion in the human life of our time. Until the economic standard of the United States is lowered to that of Japan and Asia, the wave of immigration will come this way. The greater the difference in the levels the swifter the

flow. The harder the head pressure, therefore, the more powerful must we build the resistance.

Then is there any doubt that Asia will have this five per cent. to send each year, with her present 800,000,000? Is there any doubt that Japanese and American Transportation Companies will continue their methods of securing and carrying these passengers, or that their Asiatic friends here will continue to give their new immigrant countrymen the chances they seek?

But will there be any restrictive test applied to the Asiatics now in America so as to greatly reduce the initial basis of those who may become citizens? Mr. Gulick evidently represents that this beginning basis will be very small.

Two such tests may be placed in the way—one on immigration and the other on naturalisation.¹ The present requirement for the latter (Sections 4 and 8 Naturalisation Laws and Regulations, Dec. 19, 1914) is that the applicant must be able to sign his own name to his petition in his own hand writing, and be able to speak the English language. The first is so easily acquired and the second of such flexible interpretation, that their restrictive results are almost negligible in actual practice. After the alien has been in America two years and five years respectively for petition and final papers these tests are easily met and *the Asiatics will meet them whenever economic advantage depends upon them.*

If there be an immigration or entrance test it can be only such as will be applied to all other immigrants. The only restrictive test which has been passed upon by Congress is a literacy test, that is, the ability of the immigrant

¹Americans can be naturalised in Japan, but the requirements are such that in the years 1906-11, the total number of all foreigners including Chinese naturalised by Japan, is only thirty-three. There are no later statistics.

to read. Now, the literacy test has failed to become a law three times; in 1897 under President Cleveland, in 1913 under President Taft, in 1914 under President Wilson. It is now before Congress. Many of our greatest Americans are opposed to it on principle.

But, even this test, should it become a law, is such that nearly all of the Japanese and Chinese can pass it and those who cannot, could acquire the ability; for, it restricts those only "who cannot read the English language, OR SOME OTHER LANGUAGE OR DIALECT."¹

Mr. Gulick has been representing that eighty-five per cent. of the Japanese could not pass a reading test, but the United States Census reports show that only 8.6 per cent. of them could not pass both a reading and a writing test, and it says that more can pass the reading test alone. If we are to believe Kawakami and other pro-Japanese, the Asiatics now here are almost all of them able to read their own language; Thomas E. Green says, "Japan is a nation of public schools and colleges where every child of twelve can read and write, where illiteracy is a thing belonging only to the oldest and rapidly passing generation;" at least, they will be able to decipher enough of their language (thirty or forty words are all the law requires) to meet the test. Thus the main chance to limit the original number is so frail that it need not be considered.

Besides, the law as proposed provides that any alien who may come in at all or any one who has been made a citizen, can send back to his country and bring in his father or grandfather over fifty-five years of age, his wife, mother or grandmother, or his unmarried or widowed daughter, *whether such relative can read or not*. Of course that provision would apply to all such who are now here and would give them citizenship. Then, will

¹The Burnett Bill.

Congress grant citizenship to an illiterate wife or daughter and deny it to an illiterate son?

Furthermore, we do not pass Ex Post Facto laws in this country; and I have not seen any provision in any such proposed law by which these literacy tests are made applicable to any one already in the country. The literacy test is applied to the immigrant when he arrives at the gate, and, once in, he stays with all resident rights and is never ejected except for disease or crime. I cannot conceive an American Congress to pass a law which would deny citizenship to immigrants who have once been entered legally in this country as the Asiatics now here have been entered, should they grant it to Asiatics at all. The basis of calculation therefore will be about as we have made it.

Finally, will they all become naturalised as they come hereafter so as to form the largest increasing basis possible for their five per cent.? The home pressure will attend to that. Why, naturalisation will become a business, a bargain and sale, and an incident in economic routine; and American citizenship will be a mere sheet of paper granting business opportunity.

Should any elements of this computation seem exaggerated by any chance, and the probabilities taken at too high a level, the Rev. Gulick carefully provides enough chances to increase the total immigration to counter-balance all of these, for in addition to the five per cent. he makes the following provisos to admit:

“1,000 from every country annually to give all countries a start.”

Prof. Fairchild of Yale in his authoritative work—*Immigration*—says: “There are vast reservoirs of population in Asia, to say nothing of other continents which we have scarcely tapped as yet and which may reach the point of immigration with advancing civilisation.

Whether or not we are to receive large contingents from these countries in the future *will depend largely upon the attitude of our Government.*"

When so started these new countries alone would bring in 20,000 or more annually. Mr. Gulick would have all Asiatic natives get a good beginning, so he provides above the five per cent. limit to enter. "All from any land who would have lived in America three years." "All dependent relatives of those who have been in America three years." (What a wide and easy door that is to quadruple the five per cent.)

"All who have had an education in their own land equal to the American High School." (Another wide door!)

"All government officials, travellers and students should be admitted outside the schedule limits."

"Wives coming to join husbands should be admitted above the schedule." (That would at once increase the present initial population in case of the Japanese on the Pacific Coast by another 60,000 and nearly double the basis of 5 per cent. thereafter.)

"Children under 15 years of age should not be counted."

"The five per cent. should be applied to males only over 16 if the restriction seems severe."

"Registration fee should be required only of males over 21 years of age."

"All alien women should register without payment of fees."

Finally, to negative the frail ghost of restriction remaining after all these exceptions, he says:

"In order to meet special cases and exigencies, special power should be given the Commissioner of Immigration for exceptional treatment."

Are we not now justified in saying that this innocent looking 5% is a deception and a subterfuge?

But why was the 5% basis chosen? Was it a mere

guess or was it derived from many considerations? It could not have been derived from the basis of the regular increase of our population. Between 1850 and 1910, the rates of increase by decennial periods were as follows:

1850 to 1860.....	35.6	per cent.
1860 to 1870.....	22.6	"
1870 to 1880.....	30.1	"
1880 to 1890.....	25.5	"
1890 to 1900.....	20.7	"
1900 to 1910.....	21.0	"

This shows an average for the six decennial periods of 25.9% or of 2.59% per year; that is only a little more than half the increase Mr. Gulick gives Asiatics, which he regards so drastic that he also provides all manner of exceptions to increase the number. This plan, adding the natural annual increase of the Japanese, which is 1.43%, would enable them to increase in our country at a rate of 6.43% or over two times as fast as the white population. The Asiatic population of the United States beginning now on a basis of 280,000 would rapidly gain on all other population of the United States and finally surpass it. A 10% limit will cut that time down to less than one half.

In the meantime, what of our negro population? What attitude shall the negroes take in our Japanese policy? The place on American soil which they occupy, the position in America which they hold has been dearly bought; the Japanese consider negroes their inferiors and show them no quarter; economic and racial conflict is inevitable between these two races when they come into contact.

The African population is rapidly increasing. There are now in round numbers 10,000,000 negroes in the United States. They have more than doubled their number in the forty years since 1870, the exact increase being 103.3%. Continuing thus until the end of the century,

there will be 50,000,000 negroes in the United States, which was the total number of the people in the United States in 1880. But, on the 5% increase plan, the Asiatic population will equal and surpass the negro population in the year 2040, when each race will have about 100,000,000 in our country.

If these figures seem too large, we need but recall the growth of the United States. We began in 1800 with 5,300,000. At the end of 80 years, we had 50,155,000, or 10 times the number; at the end of 100 years, we had 75,994,000, or 14 times the number. The negroes began the last century with 1,002,000 and in 80 years had 6,580,000, or over 6 times the number, and at the end of 100 years, they had 8,834,000, or 8½ times the number.

In the year 2040, when our nation will be less than twice as old as we are now, if we enter upon the 5% plan of Mr. Gulick, we shall have a pigmented population of not less than 200,000,000 people, half of them African, the other half Asiatic. But, if we grant Asiatics the rights of citizenship before we shall fix this percentage limit, and then find we shall be obliged to fix it at 10% or 15%, *what then?*

Innocent five per cent!

CHAPTER XVII

THE GREAT AMERICAN ILLUSION

THE MELTING POT

A FEW years ago an entrancing fiction arose from the Utopia of a novelist's brain. It was named "The Melting Pot" and put upon the stage. The title at once became a popular American phrase, for it aptly expressed and fixed a national tradition that had been forming in our country for a hundred years. It represented the United States as a great crucible in which all kinds of men of all nations and all races were mixing and transforming, out of which was to rise a new man, a superman, towering above all others in body, mind and power, containing all the golden qualities of all, but *none of the drosses of any*. That is The Great American Illusion.

This illusive dream many Americans believe will come true and are ready to make of it a concrete experiment. I have found many who believe that to receive and mix all men and nations has always been the first principle of our government, carefully adopted and written into the Constitution, and having been so adopted we must follow that course to the end, no matter what the end may be.

When, in the future, historians philosophise over the decadence of the United States, its division and the loss of its sovereignty, this great illusion will be set down as the psychological cause. They will speak in phrases of wonder and ridicule about a people so brilliant in material achievement who could be obsessed with a belief so fantastic, so unscientific, and so contrary to the experiences

of the peoples of the past who had tried it, and who had gone over the abyss at the end of that road.

Yet the development of this illusion has been the most natural thing in the world. When this nation was made in 1776—from the thirteen remote centres which had spread toward each other until they all touched—the human stock in that three millions was the most virile and carefully selected the world had ever seen. The conditions under which they had left the old world, their hardships in the new, had cut off the feeble in body, the weak in mind and will, and this great natural course of eugenics in five generations had created from this survival of the fittest a progeny unmatched before or since.

The men of the Thirteen Colonial Assemblies, the Colonial Congresses, and the Constitutional Convention created new patterns of government with new designs in human rights, because they themselves were the warp and woof of a new human fabric woven from the richest materials of the superior nations of the white race.¹

Furthermore, the impulses which pushed them across the seas—a search for self-government and liberty, and the ecstasy in finding them—continued to be the main impulses behind the great numbers that came for seventy-five years afterward. Invention and wealth had not introduced the material age: freedom to think and speak and act was the sweetest luxury of life. In all that period the original stock easily assimilated these immigrants, for there were unity of ideals and similarity of bloods. This

¹ "Such, then, was the American people at the time of the Revolution—a physically homogeneous race, composed almost wholly of native-born descendants of native-born ancestors, of a decidedly English type, but with a distinct character of its own. This was the great stock from which the people of the United States grew and upon which all subsequent additions must be regarded as extraneous grafts."—Fairchild, *Immigration*, p. 52.

complete transformation of the newcomer, which America saw, was the parent of the illusion that the very land, the atmosphere, the name America, were themselves the genetic forces so plainly evidenced in the rebirth of foreigners into Americans.

Up to 1880 nearly all of our immigrants had come from the nations of purest white blood, the very ones that had furnished the original stock.¹ After that the mixed white races began to arrive. How easy a step it was for America to believe that these different part-white races would be fused as easily as the others had been. It was the arrival of that idea rather than the arrival of the mixed and radical races that counted, for it led Americans to believe that this country could become the refuge of all men, and that it could remake all men; and the next step was the fallacious idea that America, the mixture of all, would be the strongest of all; finally, *that it should become the guardian nation of the human rights of all men in all the nations of the world!* It is fair to say that the United States had arrived at that conclusion thirty years before the end of the nineteenth century.²

¹The best estimates of the total immigration into the United States prior to the initial count puts the total number of arrivals at not to exceed 250,000 in the entire period between 1776 and 1820.—From *Immigration into the U. S., Bureau of Statistics, 1903.*

²*This conception of America's place in the world has taken definite form and has been clearly expressed by the President of the United States as the responsible spokesman of the nation on three great recent occasions.*

On April 13, 1916, in a Jefferson Day speech he said: "Are you ready to go in only where the interests of America are coincident with the interests of mankind and to draw out the moment the interest centres in America and is narrowed from the wide circle of humanity?"

On April 17, 1916, before the Daughters of the American Revolution—"America will have forgotten her traditions whenever upon any occasion she fights merely for herself under such circum-

While the United States was evolving this series of national fetishes, powerful forces had begun to operate; for then the conditions for a great immigration were perfect for a great influx from Europe, just as they are now ideal to cause a great influx from Asia. What are those conditions? "The requirements for an immigration movement are the following: two well developed countries, one old and densely populated, the other new and thinly settled; [that is true still as between the United States and Asia]; the two on friendly, at least peaceable terms with each other. *For immigration even more than colonisation is a phenomenon of peace.*"¹ The West Mississippi empire offered boundless room for population. Its development would enrich the Atlantic seaboard and immigrants were desired. The states of the Atlantic seaboard began to relax their immigration laws so as to compete for the incoming thousands, for it must be remembered that the first immigration laws were made by the states and not by the nation. Invention, mechanical arts and sciences developed a new world of industry which produced wealth, which turned men to luxury. The economic impulse became uppermost in the world. The material age was in.

Meantime, in the sixty years between 1850 and 1910 America quadrupled her population, adding about thirty millions of new Europeans, a number equal to the

stances as will show she had forgotten to fight for all mankind. And the only excuse that America can ever have for the assertion of her physical force is that she asserts it in behalf of the interest of humanity."

On April 18, 1916, before the joint session of Congress to consider the ultimatum to Germany he said: "But we cannot forget that we are in some sort and by the forces of circumstances the responsible spokesman of the rights of humanity."

¹Fairchild, *Immigration*, p. 22.

whole population of 1860. America was restocked by another breed of men, who came with the selfish, material, economic impulses of the time. A large proportion of them were weak individuals from the weaker mixed people of lower-standard countries. These filled and overflowed the melting pot. They congealed the original ore and extinguished the internal fires, by which alone the whole could be fused. Chemical forces which inhere in matter act spontaneously when in proper contact, and reform the elements of matter into new forms and new matter. So the creating fires which remade our colonists into one people were inherent *in the people* within the crucible. How could the pot be heated by forces without or any other forces? How foolish and inapt is this figure of speech, "The Melting Pot." Why should men in the name of science or history deceive the world with so impossible a phrase?—It was the ideas, the motives, the racial genius within the people in the crucible that had made America; and when these were more than half alloyed and displaced, by other ideas, motives and racial genius in other people, the transforming forces in the crucible were dead.

But the people never knew that this had happened. They knew that they were becoming a conglomerate; the negroes whom they had imported for slaves increased rapidly in number and scattered over the country; by illicit relations with them white men had created a population of millions of mixed black and white people; thus the phenomenon of mixed breeds became a familiar one in the land and was accepted by children as a natural and normal part of their environment; from white crosses with negroes and with Indians an occasional fine individual was produced and those instances were always cited by the disciples of race mongrelcy; thus the moral repulsion against racial cohabitation was lost; and then

racial mixture was advocated and approved, until at last it has come to a time when those who adhere to racial purity are called ignorant, stupid, silly and prejudiced.

Before America really knew it, she had practically decided that mixed peoples were the best; if a little mixing were good, it were easy to see that more mixing would be better. So as the part-Mongolians began to arrive from Southern and Eastern Europe and from Western Asia, they joined the ardent preachers of the universal brotherhood of man in the universal American melting pot. Under the psychology that every man preaches his own case, they wrote books and gave lectures and taught applied Christianity to mean that as all men are equal before God, they are without essential differences, and should be interbred; they affirmed that the part-Mongolians from Southern and Eastern Europe were enriching the amalgam of American stocks in the melting pot, which would transform not only them but their full blooded parent yellow and brown races of Asia—into one supreme American nation. Thus the United States arrived by the historical road at the resolve to mix Asiatic races in the melting pot.

But they arrived at that resolve very suddenly by the religious road. The great illusion has long influenced public education. It has been instilled in all its phases into the children of the public schools; it has been carried up into the colleges, especially the denominational ones where missionaries are made, there to be reinforced by an interpretation of the sciences of Biology and Sociology consistent with the religious idea. These interpretations of the last generation will be proved erroneous; and they will be wholly displaced by a new science and new experience which will reverse the conclusions of the old. That is America's hope of awaking from the illusion, if we will

only wait until the knowledge of these newly discovered truths draw us back from the abyss.

In the same way, the illusion has affected the Churches of Christ and all their teachings; the vast influences of the Sunday Schools, Epworth Leagues, Christian Endeavours, and other church societies interpreted the gospels in the concrete terms of the melting pot. And the harvest time came. It was in this manner: The missionaries who went from America were the most ablaze with the false lights of the great American illusion, for they said, "Is not America the only true illustration in the world of the universal brotherhood of man?" The stories they first tell abroad are of their home land, where everyone is free, where all are equal and all are alike. They tell their listeners that their presence before them is to bring this message of perfect happiness and equality to all lands and all peoples, and that all this will come to them just as soon as they believe in our God and our Christ and our Holy Spirit, for these are the Trinity that have made America a heaven upon earth. And so they preached it in Asia.

Why could not these missionaries have foreseen the inevitable conclusion? "Well," said they of Asia, "let us go also unto this promised land, for there must be place for us." And they came in great numbers and settled together in the choicest part of the land. They brought their Asiatic life with them. They found indeed that it is a land flowing with milk and honey, where they can increase their earnings thirty to a hundred fold; and in greater numbers they came, until the people received them not gladly. Then they of Asia were much angered. They sent word back to their governments, and they went back to their brethren and told them that they were not welcome in America. And although the governments and the people of Asia cared little about the religions of the mis-

sionaries, because they considered their own religions much better, yet they greatly desired the land and the milk and honey of the land.

And they said unto the missionaries, "What deceit is this you have been practising upon us? These whom you say are our brethren in your Christian land of equality refuse to receive us. Unless you can make them receive us as they receive white men, your Gods are false, your gospel is a lie, and we shall cast you and your religions out of our land."

The Japanese said this, and the Japanese missionaries were greatly puzzled and they came to America and said, "We can no longer face the people; all our business as missionaries is done unless this stumbling block be removed from our way." And they called together the Federal Council of the Churches, and the Japan Commission of the Council, and the Missionary Boards of the East, and the Japan Society of New York, and the Peace Societies of Mr. Carnegie, and the Brotherhood of the Knights of the Sacred Treasure which the Mikado has formed of Americans; and all these conceived a new gospel to be preached by all the preachers in all the churches and to be spread by all the Societies and brotherhoods. They called it "*The New Oriental Policy*." They clothed this gospel in the false lights of the great American illusion and sent it forth to solve the problems of the missionaries.¹

For Sidney L. Gulick, the chief of the Japanese mis-

¹This is not figurative but is literally true. The records of the origin of the Japanese movement in the Christian Churches in the report of the Federal Council for 1914 state that the commission was appointed at the request of the missionaries of Japan and Mr. Gulick's policy was recommended and he was engaged on the same day. The same fact again is found in the preface of Mr. Millis's book.

sionaries, said, and his sayings were printed in books and pamphlets and letters and sent by hundreds of thousands throughout the country,—“*Would we not be gainers by including Asiatic ore in this great Melting Pot?*”

Thus by two roads America has arrived at the resolve to include Asiatics in the crucible. So is completed the tradition of the GREAT AMERICAN ILLUSION.

CHAPTER XVIII

THE DEAD SOUL IN THE POT

NATIONALITY AND RACE MIXTURE

WHAT is a nation? In common usage the word nation has two distinct ideas. One refers to a group of people, the other to the land they live in. A true nation is like a great family living in one home; its members are one in blood, one in language, one in government, equal in rank, mutual in interest, dwelling in peace. The best technical definition of nation is: "A nation is an ethnographical unit occupying a geographical unit"; that is, a race unit living in a land unit. Nation therefore has two units, race and land. Whatever disturbs these two units causes trouble. When two different racial units are bound within one land unit, or when one land extends its boundaries over two racial units, the causes of war are laid down. Albert Bushnell Hart, of Harvard, sums up the causes of the World War as follows: "The military spirit, commercial expansion, the desire for territory, the self-assertion of great states, these are things that, in the long run, may overcome all the checks of parliaments and statesmen and Hague Conference. But none of these could have brought about the fearful conditions of 1914. The strongest and determining reason of the war is the growth of race antipathies. Europe is a Mosaic of races. And at last the world has realised that the political boundaries of Europe cut across more persistent lines of race, language and religion, and thus have brought about this conflict between the nations." Race mixture has been not only a fundamental cause of war, involving as it does internal convul-

sions and external complications, but the crossing of races has always resulted in a change of civilisation and lowering of the rank of higher civilisations.

Of all the efforts made by the Japanese themselves, and by their champions, the Gulicks and Scudders and Griffiths, the most extraordinary and dangerous one is the effort to establish several propositions concerning mixed races, all of which are without basis in fact. One is that all of the leading civilisations of the present have been produced by peoples of mixed races; another, that there really are no peoples of pure race; another, that greater civilisations will be produced by greater mixtures; and then that the Mongolians and Malays are not Yellow Races, but White Races; and finally that the Japanese are the whitest of all the White-Yellow Races. Doremus E. Scudder, of Hawaii, in a preface to *Asia at the Door*, by Kawakami, definitely states that the Japanese are the most mixed of Oriental races, and the Americans are the most mixed of Occidental races; that therefore there should be a fellow feeling of similarity between the two mixtures, and that the greatest results in race will be obtained by a mixture of the mixtures.

Mr. Gulick makes a most extraordinary effort, in furtherance of his general theory of the benefits of race mixture, to prove that Japanese and other Asiatics readily blend with the white stocks and are highly assimilable by the white race. The general arguments he produces are a budget of discarded theories that grew out of a theological hypothesis, which is now disproved by science and all its applications are abandoned by educated men. That hypothesis was that all the peoples of the earth came from one pair of parents created by one divine act. It is now generally conceded that the various human races have originated under different conditions, in different places, from widely different Simian ancestors, and that what-

ever the origin was it has no bearing on the affairs of modern nations. Theology also gave the cue that a new and better man should be evolved, and fancy created the notion that the melting pot is the ideal—the only—process to produce him.

Mr. Gulick's treatment of "social assimilation" makes the fundamental blunder of assuming that the evolutionary processes,—variation, selection, transmission, adaptation,—which obtain in physical life cease entirely and do not continue with equal determinative power in psychic and social evolution. This theory of social inheritance is based on the premise that each psychic is born without inherent tendency or direction; that physical inheritance carries with it no basis for psychic traits. All of this is absolutely disproved by historical experience. Opposed to these notions are the best psychologists and sociologists of America and Europe;—Sumner and Keller and Fairchild of Yale and Le Bon of France, Weale of England have exploded these theories. Prof. Keller¹ says, "The case of societal variation reduces ultimately, then, to the mental reaction of individuals.—It must not be forgotten that they (social phenomena) probably go back to physical change in the individual brain *and so root in organic processes and in the resultant 'race-character' or temperament.*"

The arguments of Mr. Gulick, therefore, are the hypotheses of an amicable gentleman of the Old School in a great effort to harmonize the theology to which he must adhere with a fragmentary knowledge of some truths of modern science that he cannot ignore, to the especial end of getting the Japanese into the United States and into social relations with the white race.

¹See *Societal Evolution*, by Albert Galleway Keller, Prof. of the Science of Society in Yale University; Macmillan Co., 1915.

The particular instance which Mr. Gulick cites to sustain these general arguments (and it is a fair sample of what is cited by all who stand for race-mixtures) for the assimilation and cross breeding of Asiatics and Europeans proves nothing. He tells of a half white and half Asiatic child whom his parents, then missionaries in the Marshall Islands, adopted in infancy, and whom he regarded as his sister through all the years of childhood. He avers that her mental habits and moral character were of the highest type of the white child. From such instances as this he makes the sweeping general conclusion that the United States can adopt, rear and assimilate the Asiatic peoples.

The illustration entirely fails because the conditions are not parallel, indeed they are and always will be wholly absent. If the white families of the United States could and would adopt the newly-born babes of Asiatic parents, and isolate them, each one, from the Oriental environment and ensconce them within the soul of our social inheritance, it might be possible to develop from many such Asiatic infants adults evidencing a similarity, in grosser aspects, to the white race. But these conditions do not exist, nor will they ever exist. The Japanese children in the United States are raised by Japanese parents whom Mr. Kawakami, in a recent pronouncement which entirely contradicts former declarations as well as his own practice, says are as proud of their race and their social inheritance as the Americans are of theirs. These parents give to their children the Oriental character and social inheritance. The more numerous these families become, the more they segregate themselves in larger communities; and the more then their Oriental civilisation becomes encysted in white lands; and the more fully then will be preserved their Oriental nature and their character.

But there are other aspects to be noted in this special

instance of Mr. Gulick's foster sister. The child died in early life and there was no chance to finish the experiment either in herself or in her progeny. Mr. Gulick, himself, also a child, was the only observer, and the accuracy of his observations is discounted by his own admission that he thought her so like himself that he never knew until she died that she was not his sister. Is it likely that any one who could not detect the essential physical differences between a white child and a half-Mongolian child could detect the more subtle, yet real differences, that may have existed (and undoubtedly did exist) in the mental and moral constitutions of the two?

We cannot take the Asiatic immigrants as babes and adopt them into our families, one or two to a family. There are not one-fourth enough families to go round. The Japanese will not give up their babes, nor can the adults become babes themselves. How absurd this illustration becomes! The facts are the Asiatics come here by thousands with their racial characteristics set forever. They raise their own babes in their own way, imparting to them the soul of their race. Even in cases of inter-marriage, in every instance that has come under my observation, the Japanese himself is the dominant and controlling force in the family, because his whole civilisation proclaims that he must be such. Thus every feature of Mr. Gulick's case fades away, and his conclusion, based upon it, is more than worthless. It is mischievous because it leads to error that can never be corrected.

No intelligent observer or traveller will deny that from the crossing of races there is produced occasionally a fine individual, but that one individual produced under the finest conditions cannot be taken as a type of what is produced generally by such race crosses. When they cite the fact that a Burbank, in the crossing of plants, has produced marvellous fruits and marvellous plants and "aston-

ishing variants," they fail to recognise the largest fact in that process of production; for Mr. Burbank says that to produce one plant of worthy type from cross-breeding, he has often been obliged to destroy one hundred thousand other plants that are utter failures, because they were worse in quality than the stocks which he attempted to improve. This is a fatal condition in race mixture, for in the case of human beings it is utterly impossible to destroy the one hundred thousand abnormal, degenerate, and wretched beings that result from race crosses, but each must be permitted to live and to reproduce his stock until its own degeneracy obliterates it from the earth.

The limits of this book will not permit a refutation of all the material used by Mr. Gulick and Kawakami, as if in scientific proof to establish their positions upon race mixtures.

After one has read their books and pamphlets he is impressed with the fact that they have but one practical end—to secure for the Japanese the rights of entrance, citizenship, intermarriage. To achieve that end they turn architects and lay down a broad chart of foundation theories, diagram the floors into apartments for all the races, design the bedchambers with the morals of Oriental men, draw beautiful facades of conglomerate civilisations, and cover it all with the canopy of religious appeals—in order to leave the main entrance open to the Japanese.

The attempt that is most absurd and transparent, however, is the one to show that the Japanese are entitled to naturalisation in our country on the ground that they are of the white race. If there be any Aryan blood in the Japanese at all, it came from a wave of Aryan migration which swept eastward out of western Asia over two thousand years ago, and lost its force before it reached the shores of Japan.

Furthermore, a study of the present features and phys-

ical conformation of the Mongolians and Malays, even though Aryan waves may have swept them in the past, demonstrates the scientific fact that pigmented races are dominant stocks, and that white races are recessive stocks and lose their identity in cross-breeding with pigmented races. Mr. B. L. Putnam Weale expresses this fact by stating that although the men of the Plateau of Iran, going eastward, were able, in some places, to vanquish the men they found there, they *themselves were at once vanquished by the women* of those lands, with whom they cohabited and who bore unto them children with all of the racial characteristics of their former Mongolian husbands. Thus the Aryan waves of migration Japanward were swallowed up and lost hundreds of years ago, under the operation of the dominant forces which inhere in pigmented races as revealed by the Mendelian laws of heredity. The subsequent generations have obliterated the traces of the racial quality and all the civilisation of these Aryan invaders.

The Encyclopædia Britannica gives to the study of Japan most elaborate space. The article is written by Col. Brinkley, whose history of Japan is taken as standard, as well as by Japanese who are Japan's authorities. This treatise classes the Japanese as Mongolian, decidedly and without question, and says that their physical characteristics and racial attributes so nearly resemble those of the Chinese and Koreans that without the aid of dress and coiffure it is impossible for the unpractised eye to distinguish them. If the Japanese are not Mongolian and are white, then there is no Mongolian race at all and they are all white. If all these people must be admitted into the United States and naturalised on the ground that they are white because our Naturalisation Law makes all white peoples eligible, then we must have a new Naturalisation Law, which corresponds to that of Australia and

New Zealand, which prohibits residence and citizenship to all the peoples born of the human stocks native in Asia and in the islands of the Pacific. In fact there is not the slightest doubt that when the word "white" was placed in the Naturalisation Law, the makers of the law intended it to mean Europeans. It did not mean even Caucasian. This view has been held by the most scholarly judges of the Courts of the United States. The forefathers made a clear-cut effort to make the United States a white man's land.

Again, the advocates of the mixture of Asiatic races and European races are guilty of the error of utterly confusing the words "nation" and "race." The people of the United States, while they are a mixture of nations, are not a mixture of races, except where immigration or illicit cohabitation has brought a mixed breed. All of those who founded the United States belonged to the white race. In fact, until 1850, with the exception of the negroes imported for slaves, the United States did not receive immigrants except from the countries whose people were of the purest white stock existent in the world. The American population belongs in the main to the purest types of one race; only since we have been receiving immigrants from southern and eastern Europe and Asia have we been mixing this white stock with the part-white stock. But even those part-white types have been permanent for not less than 500 years up to 3,000 years. But to marry descendants of the Revolutionary and of the Civil War stocks to the descendants of the Ainu of Japan, or any other inhabitants of Japan is a race cross as radical and destroying as it is possible to make, and is paralleled only when the pure white type marries the pure African type.

Another characteristic of the protagonists of this real racial mixture is the effort they make to use the state-

ments of American scholars to enforce their contentions. This is especially true of the manner in which they use the statements of President Charles W. Eliot, of Harvard University. In 1912 the Carnegie Endowment, of Washington, sent Mr. Eliot to the Orient to study the question of the mixture of races and its bearing upon the question of the peace of the world. He spent seven months in Asia and his general statement upon the mixture of European stocks and Asiatic stocks, printed in his report, has been one of the most troublesome things the race mixture propagandists have had to handle. In the endeavour to counteract his influence on the subject they have even made it appear that Dr. Eliot favours the mixture of Mongolians and Whites. The Japanese say that while his general statements may apply to other Mongolians, they are entirely wrong when applied to the Japanese, because they say Dr. Eliot had not given the Japanese sufficient study and because they indeed are not Mongolian anyhow. This transparent and easily proved failure of the Japanese press agents to state facts undermines the confidence of students in everything they write pertaining to their campaign.

I wish, therefore, to submit some of Dr. Eliot's statements :

First. "The experience of the East teaches that the intermarriage of races which are distinctly unlike is undesirable, because the progeny from such mixtures is, as a rule, inferior to each of the parent stocks, both physically and morally, a fact which has been demonstrated on a large scale."

Second. "The Orient teaches the world that the pure race is the best and that crosses between unlike races seldom turn out well. The cross between *any* Oriental stock and *any* European stock is regarded as unsuccessful throughout the Orient, the Eurasians being approved by

neither of the two races from which they sprung. Japan illustrates the value of a race kept pure."

Third. "The notion that strong races have been produced or are to be produced by a blend or amalgam of many different races gets no support from Oriental experience. Races which are really kindred may safely intermarry; but races conspicuously distinct cannot."

Fourth. "All the experiments which have been made without scientific intention on the crossing of human varieties—as for instance in the Hawaiian Islands where the part-Hawaiian population presents the most extraordinary mixture of human stocks in the world—tend to confirm the principle of race purity."

In the next place, then, we may eliminate from the Japanese-American problem the whole discussion of the equality or inequality of the two races. Every Japanese who has said anything upon the subject of their entrance into America exclaims that they do not insist so much upon immigration as they insist upon being considered the equal of the American people. Kawakami says that America must take some action to enable Japan "to save her face" as the social climber of modern times. To save Japan's face he would have us proclaim that the Japanese are our equals and we must establish this decree in a concrete way by admitting them into our country, giving them social equality under the law. The leaders of American thought and American life might be perfectly willing to acclaim the Japanese as racial equals, but we can never do that in the way they have set down. The method they have laid down is the keenest Oriental diplomacy and it must be met with a firmness of diplomacy that will prove the people of the United States at least the equal of the Japanese.

But, to enforce what Dr. Eliot has said, I wish to add the conclusions of several other great men upon these

premises. "Barely a century and one-half ago," says Gustav Le Bon,¹

"certain philosophers who were very ignorant of the primitive history of man, of the variations of his mental constitution and of the laws of heredity, propounded the idea of the equality of individuals and races. . . . And yet science, as it has progressed, has proved the vanity of the theories of equality and has shown that the mental gulf created by the past between individuals and races can only be filled up by the slowly accumulating action of heredity. Modern psychology, together with stern lessons of experience, has demonstrated that the institutions and the education which suits some individuals and some races, are very harmful to others.

"Each people fosters a mental constitution as unaltering as its anatomical characteristics, and the history of the historic races has been determined by their mental constitution. The life of a people, its institutions, its beliefs and acts are but the visible expression of its invisible soul."

"This abyss between the mental constitution of the different races explains how it is that the superior peoples have never been able to impose their civilisation on inferior peoples. The idea still so wide-spread that education can achieve this result, is one of the most baneful illusions that the theoreticians of pure reason have ever brought into existence. Thanks to the memory possessed by the most inferior beings—a privilege in nowise confined to man—it is doubtless possible for education to impart to an individual, somewhat low in the human scale, the totality of the notions possessed by an European. A negro or a Japanese may easily take a university degree or become a lawyer; the sort of varnish he thus acquires is, however, quite superficial, and has no

¹No psychologist of recent times has contributed studies of greater interest to the world than Gustav Le Bon of France. His two books *The Crowd* and *The Psychology of Peoples* have provoked wide discussion and stirred new study and have been widely indorsed by leading students of metaphysics and ethnology.

influence on his mental constitution. *What no education can give him, because they are created by heredity alone, are the forms of thought, the logic, and above all the character of the Western man.* Our negro or our Japanese may accumulate all possible certificates without ever attaining to a level of the average European. It is easy to give him in ten years the culture of a well educated Englishman. To make a real Englishman of him, that is to say, a man acting as an Englishman would act in the different circumstances of life, a thousand years would scarcely be sufficient. It is only in appearance that a people suddenly transforms its language, its constitution, its beliefs or its arts. For such changes, to be readily accomplished, it would be necessary that it should be able to transform its soul."

Therefore, for a people to transform those institutions, beliefs and acts, it must first transform its soul. Is Japan transforming her soul? Is she not rather intensifying and strengthening it under the pride of achievement and the belief in its superiority; and must we not expect her life and institutions to be correspondingly deepened and intensified? For again we call attention to the distinction that although Japan has assumed in business, manufactures, and trade some of the material forms coincident with and developed by a Christian civilisation, she has not incarnated the invisible spirit of Christian life, but expresses her own spirit in her own life, in her own way. Mr. Gulick, therefore, in his arguments for assimilation makes the fundamental blunder of assuming that while the material part of man is obedient to the laws of heredity, the more important part, that is, his psychic nature, has no determination by heredity and is wholly a creature of the accidents of circumstances. This blunder is clearly exposed by the statements of the scholars that I have cited. For Le Bon says further, "The identity of mental constitutions in the majority of

individuals of a race is due to very simple psychological reasons. Each individual is the product not only of his immediate parents but also of his race, that is, of the entire series of his descendants."

Dr. Robert Tuttle Morris, professor of surgery in the New York Post Graduate Medical School, trustee and director in educational and financial corporations, member of the American Association for the Advancement of Science, author, lecturer, makes the following authoritative statements:

"The melting pot idea of Zangwill is merely a metaphysical conception not based upon biological fact. When plants of closely allied varieties are crossed, we get a more durable form than is the case if the cross is made between plants of different species. The protoplasmic adjustment in the case of different species becomes a shock, and the effects of this shock, when the two species are joined, injures the vitality of the resultant plants. The same is true with nations. If a nation is made up of peoples closely related in variety, it will have stronger tendencies for development and greater vitality than would be the case in a nation made up largely of peoples widely different in racial characteristics. On the other hand, the crossing of widely different peoples, like the Negro, Semitic, Tartar, Malay and such types, produces an unstable breed with unsettled ideas and lacking the ability of mass action."

But, says Mr. Gulick, it is not necessary to have the Japanese intermarry with the whites; they can live in this country and probably should live in this country as a distinct race. This, of course, he applies to all Asiatics, and some sentimentalists are won to this argument. But I submit that this cannot and will not be done. We cannot say, "Come on in, Asiatics, take all the rights of American citizenship, and all the privileges of our children, but remain distinct, keep your racial integrity."

No two races have ever dwelt together in any one land, on an equal basis of citizenship, and have not had their bloods commingled. Worse still, no two races have ever dwelt long and promiscuously together in any one land on any conditions and have not had their bloods commingled. The longer the races thus live together the more certain is their mixture. Americans need only to lift their eyes to see how true these statements are in our own country, in our own time, and by our own people. To admit the Asiatics into the United States on these equal terms, means simply that we yield to their demands to mix their racial bloods with ours.

Against this huge folly, against the great American illusion, against the idea of the melting pot, and despite all of the asseverations of the advocates of race mixture, I submit four generalisations and will leave the facts from which they are derived for another volume at another time.

First. No great human stock has come out of a radical race cross. Those human stocks that have developed highest civilisations have been persistent as types without serious mixture for many hundreds, even thousands of years before they have produced their civilisations.

Second. No mixed race has ever reached any notable degree of civilisation whatever until it has been fixed in type by hundreds of years of hereditary processes.

Third. No nation or people of a pure or fixed racial type, which has produced a high civilisation, has maintained its high civilisation after it has mixed with another race as radically different as black and white, yellow and white, or brown and white.

Fourth. Wherever the white race has attempted to cross a pigmented race, it has lost its racial characteristics and lowered its civilisation. Gustav Le Bon says, "The small number of white men transported into the midst of

a numerous negro population disappear, after a few generations, without leaving any trace of their blood among their descendants. All the conquerors who have invaded too numerous populations have disappeared in the same way. They have been able, as has been done with the Latins in Gaul or the Aryans in Egypt, to leave behind them their civilisations, their arts, and their language; but they have never been able to bequeath their blood. To cross two peoples is to change simultaneously both their physical constitution and their mental constitution, transforming in a fundamental manner the character of the people.

“The first effect of inter-breeding between different races is to destroy the soul of the races, and by their soul we mean that congeries of common ideas and sentiments which make the strength of peoples and without which there is no such thing as a nation or a fatherland. The period of inter-breeding is the critical period in the history of peoples. It is a period full of intestine struggles and of vicissitudes, and it continues so long as the new psychological characteristics are not fixed. A people may sustain many losses, may be overtaken by many catastrophes, and yet recover from the ordeal, but it has lost everything and is past recovery when it has lost its soul.

“The dissolution of historical races is the result of cross-breeding; the peoples which have preserved their unity and force, the Aryans for example in India in the past, and in modern times the English in their various colonies, are those who have always carefully avoided intermarrying with foreigners. The presence in the midst of the people of foreigners, even in small numbers, is sufficient to affect its soul, since it causes it to lose its capacity for defending the characteristics of its race, the monuments of its history and the achievements of its ancestors.”

Le Bon clearly prefigured the case of the Japanese aggression upon the United States. He says:

"It was the pacific and not the warlike invasions which brought about the fall of the Roman Empire. The barbarians, far from having wished to overthrow Roman civilisation, devoted all their efforts toward adopting and continuing institutions of which they were the respectful admirers. We are probably destined to witness, in contemporary history, pacific invasions analogous to those which brought about the transformation of Roman civilisation. It may seem now-a-days there are no longer any barbarians, but though the barbarians may seem to be very distant, they are in reality very close, far closer than at the time of the Roman emperors. The fact is that they exist in the very bosom of the civilised nations. Each people contains an immense number of inferior elements incapable of adapting themselves to a civilisation that is too superior for them. There results an enormous waste of population; and the people, who come to be invaded by it, will have reason to dread the experience."

At the present day, it is towards the United States of America that these new barbarians direct their steps with a common accord. He says:

"Our humanitarian principles condemn us to undergo an ever-increasing foreign invasion. The conflicts on the soil of the great republic will be in reality conflicts between races which have reached different levels of evolution.

"An agglomeration of men of different origin do not form a race, do not possess a collective soul. The acquisition of a solidly constituted collective soul marks the apogee of the greatness of the people. The dissociation of this soul always marks the hour of its decadence. *Peoples are centuries long in acquiring a certain mental constitution, which they sometimes lose in a very short space of time.* The ascending path is always very long; while the decline which leads them to decadence, is most often very rapid."

What do the melting-pot propagandists offer America in exchange for her *dead soul in the pot*?

CHAPTER XIX

FACTS PERTINENT TO OPINION

A CHAPTER OF ANSWERS

BEFORE we can enter upon our final chapter, "The Solution of the Problem," we must meet a number of questions that arise from the arguments of the propagandists. Are the Japanese decreasing in number in the United States? We admit Italians, Czechs, Slavs, Greeks, etc., why not admit the Japanese? Can Americans own land in Japan? Is Japan poor, could she make war on the United States? What was the recent diplomatic flurry about? Do we naturalise any Asiatics?

Are Japanese decreasing in number in the United States?

The public is told that there are very few Japanese in this country and that their presence does not affect economic conditions, and that this Japanese population is diminishing, from the fact that more Japanese return to Japan than arrive each year. Although there may have been such a reaction for a year or more after the enactment of the Anti-Alien Land Bill, the condition does not prevail now. The Commissioner General of Immigration shows that in 1914 the actual increase in the United States was 2,162, in Hawaii 1,951; in 1915 the increase was 3,208 in the United States, and 688 in Hawaii. Thus in two years the total was 7,009. As nearly all of these, sooner or later, find their way into California, the Japanese population of California is continuing to increase. While in the Hawaiian Islands, comparing the report of the

Governor of 1910 with that of 1915, there is a total increase of 14,462 in the Japanese population.

But the rapid increase in the number of Japanese born in California is a matter of the most profound significance. The real meaning of the picture bride immigration and the fecundity of the Japanese women is seen in the last report of the chief statistician for the state board of health. *The Japanese birth-rate has more than trebled in five years*—the percentage being 336.

In 1911 there were 995 Japanese children born in California.
In 1912 " 1,467
In 1913 " 2,216
In 1914 " 2,874
In 1915 " 3,342; this is 7 per cent. of the total births
 of the State.

In Sacramento county (exclusive of Sacramento city, the capital of the State, and Watsonville) *the number of Japanese births exceeded the number of white births*; there were in the rural portions of the county 193 Japanese babies, and 167 white babies; in Watsonville there were 110 Japanese babies and 103 white babies born in 1915. Many of the Japanese men have not yet secured their wives from Japan. This difference in favour of the Japanese is rapidly to increase.

On the other hand, while the annual births in five years show a net gain of 2,347, the annual deaths show an increase of only 200, reaching a maximum for the state of 633. This is an increase by births of 528 per cent. of the total loss by deaths, or $5\frac{1}{4}$ to 1, a net gain of $4\frac{1}{4}$. This is one of the most extraordinary facts in the vital statistics of the world.

The Japanese prefer the United States over all countries. The following table published by the Japanese Foreign Office shows the location of all the Japanese who

are resident abroad. It shows that there was a total of 358,711 Japanese outside of their own country, June 30, 1914, and that the United States contained just about one-half of them, 176,879. The total under the British flag was only about one-seventh as many, while in China there is only 68 per cent. as many.

“JAPANESE AWAY FROM HOME”

China	121,596
Hawaii	90,808
United States (proper).....	80,773
Philippine Islands.....	5,179
Guam	119
(Total under American flag, 176,879)	
Australia	6,661
Canada	11,950
British India.....	845
Hongkong	1,555
Singapore	5,166
Great Britain.....	478
(Total under British flag, 26,655)	
Brazil	15,642
Peru	5,381
Russia in Asia.....	4,563
Mexico	2,737
Dutch Indies.....	2,949
Saigon	161
Siam	218
Argentina	683
Chile	305
Germany	434
Russia in Europe.....	89
France	129
Austria Hungary.....	37
Italy	17
Belgium	15
Switzerland	11

Spain	8
Sweden	6
Netherlands	5
Portugal	2
 Total	 358,711

Shall we exclude Asiatics and admit people of Southern and Eastern Europe?

We cannot accept the argument that we might as well let the Japanese and all other races of Asia come into our country as to let the low standard people of Southern and Eastern Europe come. If America expects to preserve the unity of her ideals or even maintain the character of her civilisation, much more the level of her standard of living, all of these undesirables must be debarred until we can recover the virility we have lost. The addition of a second disease will not cure the first.

Dr. J. H. Kellogg¹ makes some startling statements in regard to the sick, inefficient and incompetent, whose numbers are constantly replenished and increased in our country by the progeny of the poor stocks of Europe. The Commissioner General of Immigration (1914, page 7) speaking of these deficients says, "Medical Science has demonstrated that many, if not all, of these serious deficiencies are handed down from generation to generation *with steady increase in the strain*, so that the importance of rejecting and expelling aliens of this class can hardly be overestimated. There should be no room in this country for the moral degenerate of foreign lands."

Dr. Kellogg indorses this with his statement of the growth of the insane in the East:

¹J. H. Kellogg, M.D., F.R.S.M., of Battle Creek, Mich., in Senate Document 648, 62nd Congress.

"In 1867 the proportion of insane in New York and New England was about 1 to 1,600 of the population. At the present time the insane in New York is 1 to 273 or six times as many, (600 per cent increase in 65 years).

"In hospitals in New York are 32,657 insane—double the number in 1890, an increase of 104 per cent in 20 years while the state increased only 52 per cent.

"In New Jersey the feeble minded have doubled in one generation—the proportion now is 1 to 250.

"In United States 150,000 insane are incarcerated; there are at least 150,000 more at liberty. Besides these lunatics we have 300,000 more idiots and weak-minded people."

The relation of the immigration from Southern and Eastern Europe to the poverty, illiteracy, degeneracy and insanity of our Eastern States particularly, is startlingly shown in the report of the Committee on Immigration of the House of Representatives, which accompanied their recommendation of the Burnett Bill in 1916, and I refer the student to such sources for a further development of this subject. The relation of immigration to *crime* is another department of the same study for which see the prison reports of the States.

These subjects relating to the "new" immigration must be taken by Americans as causes of serious apprehension to be quickly and radically treated:—surely they can not be used as arguments to admit other serious causes for national care by the admission of Asiatic races.

Can Americans own land in Japan?

The answer is No, not in fee simple and only under conditions greatly narrowing the right. The law in existence is: "Land shall not be sold, hypothecated or mortgaged to foreigners, nor shall deeds or titles be passed conveying to them ownership rights." This law never having

been repealed is still in force. President Sherer¹ says, "Sound principles support the doctrine that only the actual citizens of a nation should own its land. Has any nation shown more deference to this doctrine than Japan itself? Only since 1910 has a law granting land ownership to foreigners, of which we have heard so much, shown its face on the minutes of their Parliament; and when we examine its features we discover a somewhat noticeable reserve. This ordinance prevents itself from going into force until the Emperor determines to issue it, and this he never has done. It requires that, in case of an individual, he shall be actually resident in Japan during the period of ownership, and that, in the case of corporations, the Home Secretary must specifically approve; that the home nation of such land-holding aliens must, as a prerequisite condition of their land-holding, grant to Japanese the reciprocal right to hold land; that its provisions shall in no case extend to Saghalien, Formosa, or the Hokkaido, the only places where there is the slightest room for foreigners; further that its provisions shall not extend to any district whatsoever which the Emperor may at any time proclaim to be requisite to the national defence; and that in case of the violation of any one of the terms of this carefully hedged-about ordinance, the property shall be escheat to the state. Japan has long had Alien Land Laws, as may be seen by the preceding summary of the reservations in the statute passed by Parliament, April 13, 1910. The repeal of these Alien Land Laws is theoretical rather than practical and, even should it be put into effect, the rights granted to aliens would be rigidly limited, besides being revocable at any time."

¹James A. B. Sherer, President of Throop College of Technology, Pasadena, California, in *The Japanese Crisis*. "President Sherer is by training, education and by long residence as teacher in Japan qualified to speak with authority."

Is Japan poor?

On one side the Japanese make the threat of war¹ if the California Land Law is not repealed; on the other the pacifists argue that there is no fear of war with Japan because she is not rich enough to make war against the United States. This mental habit of coining all his thoughts into the language of peace and war makes the pacifist incompetent to discuss such questions upon their merits. One recently said to me, "Why are you discussing the Japanese Problem? There is no danger of war with Japan, for Japan is unable to make war. She is poverty stricken and helpless, overburdened with national debts. She does not wish to commit hari-kari by engaging the United States in war."

"But," I said, "I am not discussing the Japanese question from the standpoint of war. I look at it wholly as a question of national and racial welfare to both nations and never permit my mind to dwell upon the contingencies incidental to the problem." But this gentleman could not see that there was anything in the whole question except whether or not we should have war with Japan, and in less than ten minutes I had to recall his mind five times from the discussion of war to the discussion of the problem itself.

Is Japan poor? Is Japan too poor to make war?

Since David Starr Jordan, the expert in economics and pacifism, stated on the 17th day of July, 1914, that Europe would never have another war because she was

¹It is significant to find in the *Year Book of Japan for 1915*, a semi-official publication with an introduction by Prince Okuma, the following bland statement under the general heading of *The Navy*.

"OBJECT OF EXPANSION AND IMAGINARY ENEMY

The object of expansion of national armament is primarily to guard our interest in Manchuria and China, and next to be prepared against a possible emergency with the U. S. A."

not rich enough to afford it, I have eliminated from this question two things:

First, That the status of a nation's finances probably has little to do in deterring it from entering war if its emotional status is that of war.

Second, That pacifists show a conspicuous incompetence to render judgment upon the question of which nations are too poor for war.

The European war has now lasted over two years. England, Germany, France, Russia, Austria and Italy have used wealth and money into aggregates which stagger thought. Yet the credit of none of them seems to be impaired and not one seems to be crippled in any degree by lack of money and resources. This leads one to think, after all, that poverty and expenditure, credit and debit, play a part in war far less important than that our general theories have assigned them. These nations after spending enough to make them all apparently very poor, (in as much as Dr. Jordan said they were too poor to begin a war) go right on with larger and larger plans defying one another to outstarve, outlast, outspend or over-draw their respective credits.

But Japan is not poor if men of authority, experience and travel can be believed. It was only a short time before the war that the Secretary of Commerce of the United States, Mr. Redfield, made a statement in regard to Japan, and it is so clear and so authoritative that we submit some of it. He shows many things: That she is solvent; that her treasury shows a surplus every year; that besides natural wealth she has resources in labour, which are very rich and of extraordinary importance, and she controls them with an absolute hand: that she has managerial intelligence and wealth in products, and unlimited possibilities to increase all of these through the new countries she has just conquered. His conclusion is that Japan is not only

able to take care of herself in any direction in which she may send her energy, but that she is taking the trade from the United States and will continue to displace us in the East. What was true when he said this is many times augmented now.

Mr. Redfield says:

Japan is not Poor.

"I do not want you to get the impression that Japan is in any sense insolvent. It is not. Her statesmen are guiding her with rare self-sacrifice and with uncommon wisdom, and her treasury shows a surplus every year. It is simply that her growth has been so rapid and her outreach so large that she lacks, as other nations do, the ready cash with which to do the work as fast as she would like to do it."

Labor and Industry.

"Japan rejoices, on the other hand, in a wealth of labour of a remarkable character. I suppose there is no more thrifty, able, capable worker than the average Japanese. He is accustomed to living to his satisfaction on the most limited scale. He is of good mental and physical capacity, and capable of becoming a very great factor in industry."

Managerial Ability.

"Nor must we regard the men who control these interests as men whom we can teach very much. Mr. Matsukata, who is head of the Kawasaki Dock Yards, is a graduate of Yale University. Another gentleman, the head of a large cement works, is a graduate not only of Yale but also of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. One of the heads of these large factories was a member of the Harvard Club. You often run across men with American education, to which has been added European training and European brains, a combination which has made a certain selected number of these Japanese exceptionally skilled and able men."

Natural Resources.

"As regards the materials of industry, the Empire extends over so great a latitude that the material products range from the subarctic to the subtropical of Formosa, and from the sea products of the ocean to the continental supplies of Korea. Formosa, I suppose, is one of the most productive countries of its size in the world. The sea products are a great source of wealth in Japan. She draws lumber from Formosa and northern Korea; cotton from Korea and lumber also from Karafuto. The Empire is rich, of course, in silk, a little more than one-quarter of all the world's silk comes from Japan, and about sixty per cent. of all we use in America is derived from there. She has no cotton on her own soil save that which is about to come, rather than has come from Korea. She draws some of it from India, more from China, and most from the United States, but she is no worse off in that respect than England, the largest of all cotton manufacturers, who draws her supplies wholly from abroad. There cannot fail to come from those countries, Korea, and Formosa, a great increase in the agricultural wealth of the Empire."

Competition in Manufactures and Trade.

"To these resources she adds a market in China, which is right at her door and of its kind is the largest of the world; and the presence of that market just across the way is the reason why the cotton-spinning industry took hold first in Japan and has progressed the most. She has already made her presence felt in our cotton mills in Eastern New England. Some of the Chinese trade we used to have she has taken away, and will continue undoubtedly to take more."

Mr. Thomas F. Millard, Editor of *The China Press*, Shanghai, who has traveled and lived in the Far East for many years, more than corroborates the above view as to land. He says:

"It is incorrect to say that Japan is overpopulated, in a

territorial sense, for a large area of the territory of Japan proper is sparsely populated, and nearly one-half of the arable land of Japan proper is uncultivated. It is, therefore, not lack of land that compels Japanese to emigrate. It is a desire for economic betterment."

Carl Crow says of Japan:

"The Government authorities after a careful survey of the entire country have reached the conclusion that simply by reclaiming the land which is inclined at an angle of less than 15 degrees *the area of arable land may be doubled.*"¹

Mr. Crow says also that the Japanese Emperor himself has incomparable wealth. He owns five million acres of land or more than five per cent. of the total area of the country; some of Japan's land sells at \$1000 an acre, and \$100 is a conservative average. This would make his land value equal to \$500,000,000. It is very probably worth one billion dollars. In addition to this the court is a heavy stockholder in many of the industrial enterprises of the country. These items include:

60,660 shares in the Bank of Japan.

60,400 shares in the Yokohama Specie Bank.

10,000 shares in the Industrial Bank.

80,500 shares in the Nippon Yusen Kaisha, the well known steamship company.

122,650 shares in mills, railroads, hotels, etc.

According to the *Japan Year Book* the total value of these industrial holdings is \$250,000,000. Yet the Hohenzollerns were accounted wealthy with their \$125,000,000.

Jefferson Jones, author of *The Fall of Tsing Tau*, who lived in Tokio as a newspaper man, adds to this statement by showing what Japan has done since the beginning of

¹*Japan and America.*

the war. He says, "At the beginning of the European war Japan owed foreign countries more than half a billion dollars. To-day it has brought its national debt down to one-half of what it was a year ago and is creditor to Russia for sixty millions." Ten months have passed since this statement was written.

Proofs of Japan's financial ability are evidenced in a hundred ways. Within less than a year, she has launched ten war vessels; the total cost of her naval program for the present year is ninety million dollars. Ten months ago a Japanese passenger vessel had never been seen in the harbor of New York, Buenos Ayres, or Cape Town. To-day Japan's flag is flying from vessels in almost every trading post in the world. While the United States has been talking "preparedness," Japan has increased its army from nineteen divisions to twenty-five, an addition of two hundred and fifty thousand men. It has appropriated four hundred thousand dollars for an aviation school. In forty days, from January 1 to February 10, 1916, the excess of exports from Japan over imports amounted to thirteen million dollars.

Evidence of this great financial advance of Japan is seen in the extension of her enterprises throughout the whole world. "Japan is in command of shipping on the Pacific and Indian Oceans, and its government trade agents, as well as members of the Imperial Diet, are now in South America and Africa scouring the country for new markets."

From Japanese sources we learn that for some months a powerful Japanese syndicate had been casting longing eyes on several large sugar estates in the Philippines and principally on the one owned by the Dominican Order of Friars, in the fruitful province of Logina. On February 14, 1916, a sale was completed, the transfer taking place at midnight, February 27, when the personal representa-

tive of the Japanese syndicate, Mr. K. Hada, took charge of the estate. On the following morning, heads of the various departments were notified by the new owners that their services were no longer required, and their places were immediately taken by Japanese who were all in readiness.¹

The world knows in a general way of the exploitation of China by the Japanese. Under the personal supervision of Baron Okura, another Japanese syndicate has begun great mining enterprises in the Yangtse Valley.

The Japanese claim that they have obtained permission from the Chinese Government to work these mines, which are expected to produce 350,000 tons a year. It is also announced that Mr. Hada, who bought the sugar plantations in the Philippines, is planning to establish a cotton spinning factory at Moskow. "In India, however, the greatest development is taking form. The enforced absence of the Germans and the falling off of British effectiveness are combining to give the Japanese a chance they never hoped for. They are making good use of it."²

Can a nation that is poor do all these great things? Is a nation of such vast energies and resources unable to make a war?

What is the meaning of the last diplomatic flurry?

The last diplomatic flurry the United States has had with Japan has grown out of Ambassador Chinda's objection to the Burnett Bill, passed by House of Representatives March 30, 1916. That bill contained a clause indirectly referring to the Gentleman's Agreement, which Japan made in 1907 to withhold her labourers from coming into the United States. What was the basis of Mr.

¹*East and West News*, April 27, 1916.

²*East and West News*.

Chinda's objection which caused the commotion in the United States and rallied once more to the Japanese support the widely distributed forces engaged in the Japanese conquest?

If there has been one thing which all the pro-Japanese have emphasized and repeated more than any other it is the fact that Japan has kept faith in the observance of the Gentleman's Agreement. This faith has been apotheosized into the most extraordinary virtue, whereas not to keep it would be sheer dishonesty. What objection could they make then for having a reference to it in an American law?

The answer to that question is another revelation of the astute character of Japanese diplomacy. The Gentleman's Agreement is not a treaty. As such it has never been written. It is merely a verbal understanding and finds its nearest record in a description of it, found in the report of the Commissioner General of Immigration, 1908. This statement was made to the writer from the only source from whence it could come in Washington, and I have in my possession a copy of that report, pencil marked at the place, by one of the highest officials of the government, stating this fact.

The Gentleman's Agreement, therefore, does not exist except in a reference made to it in the treaty of 1911 and in the memories of those who made it—Secretary Root and Baron Takahira, with the possible addition of Ex-President Roosevelt. If the statement be true, as given to me, that the Gentleman's Agreement is wholly verbal, it is only a question of a few years after these men have passed from the field of action, that it will be subject to such interpretation as either side may put upon it, and it may become itself the basis of international dispute. Therefore, it was, that Baron Chinda did not want it incorporated in any form, by inference or otherwise, in a

new Immigration Law. If, however, it shall be found that the Gentleman's Agreement has been written and is on file in our archives, the fact still remains that the Japanese objected to any further ratification of it. What motive could they possibly have, unless it be that they consider the Gentleman's Agreement nothing more than a temporary adjustment of their contentions, and that America will have to make a better settlement even of that question in time to come?

This puts two questions upon the international table—the Gentleman's Agreement of 1907 and the land action of the Western States of the years since then. It is ever the nature of Japanese diplomacy to leave some things unsettled and unfinished, so that when it suits her advantage she may renew the negotiations, as she did with China in January, 1915, when all the world was so occupied that they could not interfere with her unjust claims.

“Japanese indignation over the exclusion features of the immigration bill would seem inordinate if we overlooked its diplomatic quality. The Japanese know very well that it is not because we regard them as an inferior race that we wish to exclude them. Quite the contrary. We regard them as representatives of a culture so old and so highly developed that the chance of their exchanging it for ours is too remote for consideration. They are not assimilable, and it is a condition of our harmonious and fruitful national development that we should admit to our agricultural and industrial population only elements that will easily blend. The Japanese themselves would not tolerate the planting on their soil of permanently alien colonies. Why, then, this show of wounded national honor? So long as the matter of immigration is regulated by gentlemen's agreements, periodically renewable, the Japanese have a lever for exacting concessions with regard to other matters—trade policy in China, for example.

An unsettled immigration question is part of the capital of Japanese diplomacy. And Japanese diplomatists, among the most astute in the world, will not permit this capital to be destroyed if protesting is of avail.”¹

Are we naturalising any Asiatics?

The complaint which the Japanese have made that there is no uniformity in the decisions which our courts make in regard to the naturalisation of aliens is a just complaint. I have examined all the cases on record in the office of the Commissioner of Immigration, in Washington, in which Asiatics have recently appeared before our courts seeking to be admitted. Of such recent decisions I submit the following summary:

Afghans—In 3 cases, 1 was denied and 2 were admitted.

Hindoos—In 9 cases, 3 were denied and 6 were admitted.

Indians of America—In 4 cases, 3 denied and 1 was admitted.

Japanese—In 6 cases reported, 6 denied, none admitted.

Malays—In 3 cases reported, 3 denied, none admitted.

Philippines—In 10 cases reported, 7 denied, 3 admitted.

Syrians—In 6 cases reported, 2 denied, 4 admitted.

This lack of uniformity in the decisions of the courts arises from the fact that the courts all over the United States and in the Sandwich Islands are making them without any uniformity of instruction. The hard pressure of Asiatic aliens upon American citizenship makes it necessary for our government to revise, in greater detail, the terms of naturalisation. This problem has been met by Australia (as submitted in a communication from the Government of New South Wales) as follows: “I have to inform you that absolute prohibition is placed upon the

¹*The New Republic.*

entry of Japanese into Australia, except under the permit for a limited term, such term usually being granted for the purpose of representatives in Trading Houses in Japan, getting in touch with Commercial Houses in Australia. All Asiatics come under the same restrictions. The Naturalisation Act, 1903, of the Commonwealth provides that any person resident in Australia, not being a British subject and *not being an aboriginal native of Asia, Africa or the Islands of the Pacific*, except New Zealand, who intends to settle in the commonwealth, and who (a) has resided in Australia continuously for two years immediately preceding the application; or (b) has obtained in the United Kingdom a Certificate of Naturalisation or Letters of Naturalisation, may apply to the Government General for a Certificate of Naturalisation."

Practically the same law is in existence in New Zealand. The government of Canada grants some privileges of citizenship to Japan, but they have an agreement with Japan corresponding to ours, only far more rigid, which practically prohibits immigration of Japanese into Canada.

CHAPTER XX

THE SOLUTION OF THE PROBLEM

AMERICA's greatest danger lies in the hasty opinions of her majorities; opinions made out of old traditions coined into popular phrases; opinions which come out of the emotional faculties instead of the intellectual faculties; manufactured opinions made for a purpose by methods and organisations such as we have been studying.

Public opinion must rule, but public opinion on a question like the California-Japanese Question or the American-Japanese Question may be radically wrong when it has been developed, as it has been in this case. I know what anathemas are placed against one who dares challenge the infallibility of public opinion. But James Bryce, in his *The American Commonwealth*, says of public opinion in America :

"The enormous force of public opinion is a danger to the people themselves . . . it fills them with an undue confidence in their wisdom, their virtue, their freedom. Such a nation, seeing nothing but its own triumphs and hearing nothing but its own praise, seems to need a succession of men like the prophets of Israel to arouse the people out of their self-complacency. . . . They admit the possibility of any number of temporary errors and delusions, but to suppose that a vast nation should go wrong by mistaking its own true interests, seems to them a sort of blasphemy against the human intelligence and its Creator."

Public opinion has become the supreme court in this Japanese Case. Upon the accuracy and intelligence of its decision will depend the future character of the American

people, the permanence of American civilisation, and the length of time our nation will endure in its present form. Perhaps all the present crop of civilised nations must be harvested into the garners of past history, ours with the rest. Each of them will reach its cultural limit, or transgress the laws of endurance and pass away as other nations have passed away. "To the naturalist there is no mystery in the fall of Rome, or Greece, or Egypt. All these nations reached their cultural limitation and declined, just as so many varieties of strawberries, for instance, or potatoes or horses, if you please, come and go. Hundreds of nations have come and gone in the past, and hundreds of nations will come and go in the future."¹ But just as the highest natural craving of the individual is to perpetuate his life by choosing a true course of living, so nations desire to live. The United States has reached the forks of the road. One way leads to clearer definition of its character and civilisation, which will preserve and renew its own racial soul for long life; the other way transgresses every natural law and counters every historical experience; it leads to the loss of its national soul and to the rapid dissolution of the material forms which that soul has created.

And these are the questions at the forks of the road: What position shall the people of our country take toward these pro-Japanese propagandists, whether they be Americans or whether they be Japanese?

What shall California do to remove, as far as possible, any basis for the concentrated attack which these are making upon her?

What answer shall America give to the propositions which the Japanese are now making?

What course shall America propose that will lead to the highest destiny for both races and nations?

¹Dr. Robert Tuttle Morris,

I need not detail to the people of my country the answer to the first question. I have confidence, when Americans have come to see the Japanese campaign for the conquest of American public opinion—its origin, its motives, and its machinery—that they will condemn it with a universal verdict. In no other country could such a campaign be possible. The Japanese have not set up in any other country the machinery they are now using in ours. They have not tried, by such transparent sophistry, to appeal to the sentiments and prejudices of any other nation as they are appealing to ours. Only in the last few months have we heard any criticism made by them to the far more stringent measures which have been taken against Japanese immigration by Great Britain's colonies, Canada, Australia and New Zealand. Indeed, up to now, Kawakami, Shibusawa, and their American supporters, have been heaping high praise upon these other countries, the more darkly to contrast the attitude of the United States.

Because this campaign if successful will bring changes deeply detrimental to the social and economic, the individual and collective interests of the people of the United States, it seems to me it is the greatest menace we have ever had in our land. When the people come to see it and to realise that for all that is asked none of these pro-Japanese has offered a single tangible thing in return, the nation will spew this sentimental goulash out of its mouth. The first step therefore is for all of our people to learn to identify the press matter, the books, the lectures, the sermons which have their origin in Japanese sources and Japanese influences, and to rate them at their true value.

As to California, it must be a question of judgment formed by counsel with the government at Washington, whether we shall at this time disturb or change at all the status of our State laws. So far as I can see, there is only one change which can be made. That change would

remove the contention most often reiterated by the Japanese and cause them to shift their attack from the State of California to other States and from one contention to another. For the Japanese claim that they will be perfectly content about the land question if California and America will treat their nationals on the same plane with the aliens of other foreign countries.

This is brilliant Japanese diplomacy, but it has two alternatives. One—and that is the one they expect us to take—is to raise the rights of Asiatics to the level of those of Europeans—a step and a precedent which must be followed at once by other great concessions involving great disturbances. The other, is to deny land ownership to any alien from any land. This lets the status of Japanese remain as it is, meets their point of placing them on an equal footing with other aliens, and removes the whole contention.

California could enact a law making it impossible for any national of any country to own land in our state until he has become an American citizen.¹ Other States of the Union have such laws regarding alien ownership of land.

While at first thought this course might seem to hinder the rapid progress of the material development of our State, it would have a great many advantages to overmatch any apparent loss. It will give us a citizenship more concerned in our state welfare. It will remove the whole charge of our discrimination against Asiatics. It

¹James A. Scherer, President, Throop Institute of Technology, says: "Moreover, there is sound argument adducible for the belief that fee simple ownership of land should inhere only in citizens. Let British or German citizens cultivate American land by means of leaseholds, or control it through citizen agents. If they hunger for the unearned increment that accrues from permanent ownership, or for another reason aspire to impinge on our eminent domain, let them take out naturalisation papers . . . they are not ineligible."—*The Japanese Crisis*.

will require the Japanese to make the same attack upon other states as they are now making upon us. Thus it will remove the general discredit which they are heaping upon California, which must in time so set the sentiment and attitude of the people of the United States against us, as to diminish the numbers who are coming into our State, upon whose good will our welfare depends.

Most of all it will require the Japanese to focus their whole campaign upon the one course that will be left to them, which is to secure the rights of citizenship by naturalisation. That will concentrate their fight upon congress instead of upon us. When that great battle comes, the publicists of the Pacific States will have need to disseminate the truth, and, by the facts in the case, to convince the citizens of the Eastern States of the righteousness of our course. When this contest comes—and it is coming very rapidly—the people of the whole country will pass upon America its final sentence for national unity and racial purity; and the people of the Pacific Coast will be obliged to submit to that sentence. Another test of the strength of American cohesion, such as that made at the time of the Civil War, is soon to be made. In an address to several hundred men of Boston, I once had the privilege to indicate what that test is. "We people of the Pacific States know that if we do not protect the interests of the American people on the Pacific Coast, you men of the Atlantic Coast will not do so, because you are too deeply engrossed in your own affairs, and you are ignorant of the manner in which those interests are invaded. If we are a real nation you will attend to your own business protecting the welfare of the United States on the Atlantic Coast, and you will have enough confidence in the Americanism, the integrity, and the intelligence of the people of the West to back us up while we protect our common national interests on the Pacific Coast. When

the bond of mutual confidence, which this requires, is weakened or broken, the American people will have lost that unity of soul which makes them a living nation.”¹

Whether or not the people of California take this new step to eliminate the charge of discrimination, they should renew their confidence in the course they have thus far taken. Mr. Gulick himself admits that between 1900 and 1906 the news of the great chances to get rich in California swept over Japan like a great wave, and literally millions of Japanese were preparing to go to America. The course of California has ended that and that course is right still. Take courage and hold fast.

You are pioneers in a new era of the immigration not only of the United States but of the world: for your guidance there has been no precedent in any land. You have established a precedent. The future will clearly prove the prophetic vision of those of you who have been defending the interests of our common country and your deeds will be written down as righteous and glorious.

For you have acted upon a basic principle of self-preservation which is laid down by the leading sociologists of our time; it is this: *When the representatives of more backward countries, representing a lower standard of living begin to come the members of more advanced races cease coming.*² That principle will operate, not only in regard to the best people from foreign lands, but it will deter the people from other states of the Union from coming in to your state. Any Californian who aligns himself with this movement to make it easier for Asiatics to come into the State, or buy land, or enter into the citizenship of the state, is working to stop the immigration of those whom we desire to come; he is an enemy to his own state whatever the emotional basis of his action may

¹Address before the Boston Art Club.

²This principle is stated by Fairchild and others.

be. The doors of other white lands are closed to Asia and they will not soon be opened. If the United States opens her doors, she will receive the whole outflow of the yellow and brown races;—the Pacific Coast States first of all,—and California, first of these, will be lost to the United States and to the white race!¹

Patience, then, while science proves, while experience teaches, while the nation learns this lesson which you have learned in self-preservation. In the meantime, you must meet publicity with publicity and false charge with correct answer, and do everything within your power to maintain for the people of the West coast that character for intelligence, righteousness, and peace, which, until attacked by the Japanese propagandists, had never been assailed.

What answer shall the United States make to Japan?

Our government has expressed its belief that we have kept all treaties in good faith. It has offered to try in our Federal Courts any cases, and reimburse Japanese subjects for any losses resulting from any law in any state. This Japan denies and declines. We have offered to purchase at full market value every acre owned by the Japanese in our country. This offer she has refused. Japan has two contentions: That our land laws are unjust, and that discrimination against Asiatics in our naturalisation laws should be removed. She offers us two inducements to make these changes: They are economic advantage and continued peace. The economic advantage is to be found in foreign trade opportunities with her in Japan and her provinces, and in the wealth that her labourers will develop in America if we let them come in.

¹*The Challenge of the Future*, by Roland G. Usher, of the University of St. Louis, declares that "America should not have the attitude of California toward the Japanese invasion modified."

If what she asks is not granted, she says the denial will continue to irritate her racial pride and impede her national progress until her subjects can no longer be restrained in peaceful relations.

The whole argument about the injustice of the land laws of California, Washington, Arizona, and other states is unsound, and the remedy which they offer is a million times out of proportion to the evil they would remove. The Japanese who now own land in California will remain undisturbed in the possession of that land. These may bring their picture brides to the United States. They may rear their children, who, being born upon our soil, are full privileged citizens of the United States.

We have shown that in five years the births of these children have trebled, and in some localities they outnumber the births of white children. These American born Japanese children will inherit all the land of all the Japanese and keep it forever. The Japanese who own land and have no heirs that are eligible to citizenship, can sell it to these American born children. Already titles to land are being placed in the names of these minors; there isn't the slightest doubt that *every foot of California, or any other American soil now owned by Japanese will always be held by them*. It is also certain that the American born Japanese *will forever continue to make new purchases and increase the size of Japanese communities until by this process alone the white man will be eliminated from the fairest rural sections of the state, perhaps from all of it*.

On the other hand, many of the Japanese now here intend to return to Japan, and many more now coming do not intend to remain. At any rate, the whole number of Japanese who are now ineligible to own land in California, must, by the course of life and death, soon pass entirely out of this question. Thus this phase of the prob-

lem will have solved itself by elimination. If the Japanese are willing to accept this practical solution and maintain the *status quo*, at the end of the present generation there will be no Japanese alien-land problem in California. It will be far better to solve the problem thus, which can affect the material interests of but a few Japanese, and affect them only temporarily, than it will be to take the opposite course by removing the restriction and admitting the Japanese; that will affect at once the economic status of all of the people in the Pacific States, and ultimately affect the welfare, not only of the hundred millions of people who are on our soil, but of all generations that are to come.

In this whole controversy with Japan the United States does not wish to raise any question of the equality or the superiority of one race relative to the other. We clearly understand that the movement of Asia toward America is an economic movement, the most natural and the most forceful in the world. We realise that all of the issues of sentiment and religion that are being urged are merely decoys to distract attention from the main issue. So long as the standard of living of working men in the United States remains so infinitely above the standard of living of the masses of Japan there will be a loud cry and a mighty urge in Japan's people for the gold of our Eldorado. Count Okuma¹ himself at last has acknowledged this. "The climate of Formosa is too hot to permit successful emigration to Japan. The standards of living in all these territories are lower than those of Japan. If Japanese labourers emigrate to Manchuria, or Korea, or Formosa, they must compete with native labourers whose wages are only one-half or one third those that the Japanese can earn at home. *If our people make a fortune in*

¹*New York Times*, June 18, 1916.

other countries we are satisfied." The superior Japanese will make a fortune in these lower standard countries as masters of labour and exploiters of natural resources. But they seek the United States for a higher level upon which all classes of their people may get rich.

On this economic basis we cannot accept what Japan offers in commerce or industry as reciprocal returns for what she seeks. These do not offset the great losses the bargain brings to us. What she proposes is in defiance of economic laws. Commerce is not sequent upon friendship as Kawakami asserts. Our business chances already have diminished, not increased, in spheres of Japanese influence, as our Secretary of Commerce shows; as the Orientals acquire more and more the knowledge of the arts and industries of white men they will acquire the control of commerce also.

But we must raise this whole problem beyond the consideration of an exchange of dollars and cents with Japan which on our part would accumulate in a few industries and will never in any appreciable degree affect beneficially the welfare of the masses of our people.

America must not deceive herself by admitting the Japanese for the sake of business interests. "Business interests" is a term usually applied to the interests of the owners of great factories and stores, railroads and ships, mines and utilities, houses and lands. But these are the smallest part of the true business interests which a nation must conserve. Who are the real business people of America? They are not the men who make \$25,000 or more a year on which to raise their families and own great yachts and golf links. The most important business interests of this country, the greatest business men of this country, are the employees of the railroads—the mechanics, the engineers, conductors, brakemen and trackmen; of the mercantile houses—the clerks, book-

keepers and salesmen; they are the school-teachers and the small college professors, and the stenographers; they are the farmers, miners, and craftsmen—and the multitudinous shop keepers of the land; they are those who earn from \$2.50 per day to \$2,000 per year, who build little homes and raise their families of children and teach them to labour like themselves, again to educate, produce, operate, and transport. These are the true business people and business interests which the United States must conserve. And it is this great body of interests which will be injured by the displacement of labour and the lowering of the standard of living, which will follow the increase of population by peoples from the lower standard countries of the world.

We cannot grant to the outside peoples the great gifts they ask for economic advantage, however much they may clothe their arguments in the terms of racial equality and human justice.

Immigration has already had in our country several definite results: First, it has in many districts lowered the standards of living of the working man by lowering his standard of wages. Second, it has kept the standard of living of the labouring man from making a rise corresponding to the increase of capital and wealth. Third, while it has enabled a few to be "pushed up" in positions—a vast number have been lowered to the standard of the immigrants; and finally, it has eliminated¹ "that other body of native labour which the immigrants have prevented from ever being brought into existence."

"The standard of living is the index of the comfort and true prosperity of a nation. A high standard is a priceless heritage, which ought to be guarded at all cost. The United States has always prided itself on the high standard of liv-

¹Fairchild, *Immigration*, p. 303.

ing of its common people, but has not always understood on what that standard rests."¹

"The investor, landowner, or contractor profits by the coming in of bare-handed men, and can well afford to preach world-wide brotherhood. The professional man, sitting secure above the arena of struggle, can nobly rebuke narrowness and race hatred. If the stream of immigration included capitalists with funds, merchants ready to invade all lines of business, lawyers, doctors, engineers, and professors qualified to compete immediately with our professional men [he should, especially, have included hosts of preachers to take the pulpits, too,] . . . the pressure would be felt all along the line, and there might be something heroic in these groups standing for the equal right of all races to American opportunities. But since the actual brunt is borne by *labour*, it is easy for the shielded to indulge in generous views on the subject of immigration. . . ."²

For we can not bring them all into our country.

The United States cannot become the home of *all* the world.—We cannot be the refuge of *all* the poor and oppressed, of all the tyrannised and lower standard peoples of the earth—and that is the logical end of the course urged by the ultra idealists of our time. Even if the United States could contain them, in the overflow of the deficient, the impoverished in body and brain, and the mixed bloods of the world, we shall extinguish the light of our own liberty and lose the soul of our civilisation. What shall it profit the nation if it gain the whole world and lose its own soul?

We have representatives from all lands who are calling eagerly to their friends at home to come into America, until they all shall be in America. Mr. Zangwill, who coined the phrase, "The Melting Pot" which is nothing

¹Fairchild.

²*The Old World in the New*, E. A. Ross, of Wisconsin University.

less than a propaganda for immigration of the Jews, says, "America has ample room for all the six millions of the Pale," and urges them all to come here where their united vote will insure them political power. Zangwill welcomes to the United States all the Hebrews of all Palestine and all the world. Likewise Mr. Steiner opens America's doors for all the races from whence he came in Austria-Hungary and the Balkan States, and insists that none shall be excluded at the gate. So Miss Antin pleads the same for the people of Russia and Poland. So Kawakami asks entrance and citizenship for the Japanese; so we have Hindoos, pleading for the same privileges for all India; Chinese for China; Syrians for Syria, and so on, until the end of it will be America for all the world, and all the world in America.

We cannot yield to the emotional plea that other lands are overcrowded, while the United States is practically unsettled. This is the plea of Steiner, Holt, Gulick, Kawakami, Scudder and Green, and the rest, with statistics at their back.

The very bottom of their argument is a false bottom. Perhaps we should say it is bottomless. BECAUSE EMIGRATION FROM OVER POPULATED COUNTRIES DOES NOT LESSEN THE POPULATION OF SUCH COUNTRIES OR GIVE THE COUNTRY RELIEF. *When the pressure from population in a country is relieved by emigration the birth rate rises right up and replaces all that have left. Indeed, emigration from crowded countries is a stimulus to increased population in such countries.* This principle is supported by the very greatest economists and sociologists of modern times. Fairchild cites in proof of this all these great men: Malthus, John Stuart Mill, René Gonnard, Adam Smith, Garnier, Roscher, De Molinari, Robert Hunter, Douglas Earl of Selkirk, Whelpley, Mayo-Smith, and Taussig.

And experience has established this fact wherever records have been kept. A notable instance is Italy; despite all the people whom the United States received from Italy in the period from 1901 to 1911 the population of Italy shows no decrease; it actually increased 6.8 per cent. in that period.

So we might take in a million a year from Japan, two millions from China, two millions from India, two millions from the remainder of Asia, give them all land, and make them all citizens, and at the end of one generation there would not be the slightest decrease or relief to Asia, while America would be, in vast areas, uninhabitable by the white race. Our standard of living would be cut in two, our ideals of morals orientalised, our national character metamorphosed, our labour problem unsolvable, and the hope of all future generations quenched in the darkness of the old world. Unchristian to keep them out? It would be unchristian to Americans to let them in.

For where shall the American go? What shall be his hope if he is crowded out of his own land? There is no new continent; the American will no longer be born. The generations of Washington and Lincoln will be numbered, and the New World will have been swallowed up by Old. Awake, America!

What shall we say to the special pleaders from all of these lands whose course will so end in our extinction? Ladies and gentlemen, scholars, ecclesiastics, missionaries, metaphysical idealists:—There is a higher mission for America than the one you plead, which would make of America a mere place of residence and economic advantage for all men. It is to maintain the higher standard of living, of institutions, and of morals in the world, and to give temporary homes and full instruction to those from other lands who would be teachers and emulators of our civilisation. There is a higher service for you to

render to your home lands and missionary fields than you choose for yourselves. You have had your candles lighted at the American torch of liberty. Go back to your people now and bear that light unto them; live with them and teach them; carry home to those *who can never leave their homes, and all who are yet to be born there*, all the blessings you prize here; say unto them: We have been away from you in a beautiful garden, wonderful in the flowers of pure ideals, rich in the fruits of free enterprise. We have learned their names and their natures; we know how to plant them and grow them; we have brought their seeds and secrets. Come, now, learn of us; we shall plant our own gardens in our own lands and make them just as beautiful and as rich, where our old parents and friends and our tender children born and to come may live in continued happiness forever.

That will be Christianity universally applied. That is the road to peace, the federation of the world.

On the question of naturalisation of Japanese, our position should be just as clear. First of all, this is no time, in the upheaval of the world, to make so radical a change in the national policy which has preserved us for nearly one and one-half centuries.

Professor Ross says the Chinese exclusion policy has kept out of America six or eight millions of Chinese. Probably twenty millions is nearer the number of all the Asiatics who have been kept out by that principle. Had they come it would not have given Asia any appreciable relief, and it would have made a part of the United States uninhabitable by the white race. Do we want to enter upon that course now?

I deny the Japanese the rights of citizenship in the United States on many grounds. First: Because of the great number of difficulties we shall enter into when we take that first step. For when any Congressman votes to

confer the right of citizenship on the Japanese, he must by the same vote confer it upon all in his class, i. e., to the *eight hundred millions of the people of Asia*.

Kawakami assures us this is not true, that we need not do so. And the evil selfishness of the Japanese propaganda, the moral quality of this whole campaign, is revealed in his statement on naturalisation of Asiatics in America. "We say that the United States need not extend to countries not yet admitted into the family of civilised powers the privileges which she has conferred upon the subjects of a country which has been recognized, in the concourse of the nations, as a first-class power; and we hope that our American critics will give us credit for what we have accomplished in the brief period of fifty years, and recognise that Japan is the only nation in Asia imbued with modern civilisation."¹

Kawakami believes it will be perfectly just to give citizenship to the Japanese but to deny it to the Chinese and all other Asiatics, because, he says, the Japanese are civilised, but all the other peoples of Asia are not. He thus openly asserts the inequality of nations—while everywhere he rails at the United States for intimating it—and he asks for himself an equality which he denies to the best people of his own race; a people pronounced by those who have tried both—as superior to his own race. But on the basis of this proposal, when other Asiatic nations reach the rank of the first-class powers, or like the Japanese assert they have done so, the United States must grant them citizenship also. Already on that basis—Syrians, Hindoos, Malays, Filipinos, have appeared before our courts asking for citizenship. Thus whatever steps we take in that direction, however slowly we may take them, the road has but one end—Asia in America.

It is amazing and beyond belief that ecclesiastics should

¹Kawakami in Pacific Press Bureau Pamphlet issued January, 1916.

still raise the palpably false cry, that Japan is picked out as the one nation against which America discriminates;—that is the “thing, says one of them, that has made proud, sensitive, tremendously efficient Japan wince to the quick.” Now the fact is, Japan is but one of the non-white nations against which our statute and our courts rule. On exactly the same ground the United States has denied citizenship to Syrians, Hindoos, Afghans, Filipinos, Chinese, Koreans, and Malays, who have presented individuals as intelligent and worthy as any Japanese. What makes Japan’s proud, sensitive and ambitious spirit wince is America’s refusal to admit her boasted superiority over all her kindred peoples, and on that basis to give her what she would be glad to have us deny them.

Again, if we grant to the Japanese and the other Asiatics the right of citizenship, as they demand it, on the equal footing of other civilised nations, we can place upon them only such restrictions in the number that we admit to the United States as we place upon the number that may come from other civilised nations, such as Germany, England and France. For ten years we have been unable to pass any effective measures to restrict immigration because of the international pressure of the representatives of these nationalities now here and of powerful commercial influence. If we add Asiatics and Asiatic influences to these, restrictive regulations will become still more difficult and later on impossible. Should we make a uniform annual limit of ten per cent., or even five per cent., we have already shown that within the present century our country would present a motley of mixed populations, and mixed races involved in the greatest economic difficulties.

I deny the Japanese the rights of citizenship because they depopulate their district of white men, they lower the economic level, they compel white men to require their

wives and children to work in the field seven days a week to meet their competition in production, they set up their Oriental civilisation, which, regardless of whether it be superior or inferior to ours, cannot be mixed with ours.

As the world stands now equality of men is not reached on the higher economic levels. To make men equal, the process of life has been to make them all inferior. Any compromise of the present standards of living in the United States will be to lower them. The present influx of these people of lower standards, from any country whatever, even if continued for but one more generation at the same rate as has prevailed in the immediate past, even should it be stopped then, will make the question of the economic status of our laboring class hopeless and unsolvable for two generations to come. The standard of living in modern times, in material civilisations like ours, is intimately related to the heights of morals and the solidity of health, to say nothing of the happiness of masses; and the problem of providing only daily food, clothing and shelter for our poor labouring classes, already the most vexatious we have at present, will be further complicated by any increase of lower standard labour whatever.

I deny them the rights of citizenship because that would force upon our citizens a people who are unwelcome. "The land question, which means the food question, subtends all other sources of emotional feeling, basically, irrespective of the more superficial feeling which has led to religious wars and other wars of sentiment"—says Dr. Robert Tuttle Morris. This explains the emotion described by an eye-witness, Hichborn, in his "Story of the California Legislature, 1913," as follows: "Men stood before the Senate Judiciary Committee, and with tears streaming down their faces told of the occupa-

tion of the soil by Japanese and of the retreat of the white farmers before them."

That Asiatics are unwelcome has been the decision rendered over and over in terms not to be mistaken. In November, 1914, the State of Washington submitted to its people an amendment to the Constitution which would permit the Japanese to own land in that state. The amendment was voted down by a vote of four to one. On the same day in California, when there were three parties—Republican, Progressive, and Democratic—in the field, Governor Johnson, a Progressive, was re-elected on his Japanese record, by a majority of 188,000 votes, while Senator Phelan, a Democrat, with a similar sound Asiatic record, was elected over two strong competitors by a majority of 25,000 votes. Every state that has had a Japanese experience stands against the entrance or naturalisation of the Japanese.

I deny them the rights of citizenship because it is a step which once taken can never be retraced. The Japanese have been tried in only a part of our country—they have been a complete failure where they have been tried. I deny to the people of the East the right to grant citizenship to them until the East has given a full trial to them. It will be easy for the people of the East to vote citizenship to them, it will be impossible forever to take it from them.

I deny the Japanese the right of citizenship, because the people of Japan are unpractised in democracy and unused to the powers of the ballot. The Japanese government is a monarchy absolute and patriarchal.

Professor Burgess says that the Constitution of Japan is merely a "charter of despotism." Only one and a half millions, which is one-fortieth of the total population and about one-ninth of the males of voting age, are permitted by the Japanese government to vote. It would be far

more dignified, patriotic, and worthy, for the Japanese propagandists in the United States to go back to Japan and transfer their efforts to their own country and liberate their government to confer the franchise upon their own people, rather than insist that the United States shall give it to them. If they retort that we are conferring citizenship upon other immigrants from other lands, wherein are limited rights of franchise, and that we should confer it also upon Asiatics, the reply is evident. We have already to our deep sorrow found what it means in this country, to have a vast voting population, armed with the power of the American franchise, but without American ideals and education to direct it. The greatest problem the United States now faces, according to the President of the United States, is to Americanize the unassimilated foreigners in our land, and to displace European ideas with the lofty ones out of which the nation was born.

We wish the Asiatics to know that citizenship in our land is not primarily a question of race, but it is a question of individual fitness which may be determined by the national and racial inheritances of their fatherlands. This government is built wholly upon an ideal which is the soul of the nation. It is the ideal of civil and religious liberty. Our nation was founded by a group of men from northern and western Europe, who developed that ideal, who were drawn together in one land, into one great state, because they held that ideal in common. These men loved personal liberty so well that they would not live without it. They gave up homes and friends, broke away from ancestral environments and went into a wilderness to get it. They came from the only centre in the world where men loved liberty so much that they were willing to die for it. It is that ideal which is the soul of our nation, and that soul has created the material civilisation of the United States as the form in which it expresses itself.

It happens that that ideal has had no place in Asiatic peoples. Japan is as absolute a monarchy as now exists in the world, and the mass of Japanese people submit to and worship their emperor and reverence his decrees. Chinese for thousands of years have been under the same kind of despotism. The warp and woof of their social fabric is the result of their own primal ideals, among which the ideals of America have had no place. Their ideals, religions, institutions, their relations between the sexes, their home life, lack the American ideal. The eucalyptus equals the oak tree in beauty, in size, in estimate of worth, but one is not the other, and the eucalyptus cannot be grown from the acorn of the oak. Those who founded our American state definitely intended it as a white man's land, because they believed that the vast social inheritances possessed by other races could not be mixed with our own without a loss of our national soul. Old men cannot be made over by transfer of residence, and China and Japan are very, very old men. America was made from the youngest child nations of Europe.

This in every case should be the test of citizenship for those white men who come to America from any land. Those who come here for economic advantages have no part in our soul. Until each one knows what America's soul is, and until it lives within him, and he is thrilled by it, he is not one of us. This should be the one test. Length of residence here, the ability merely to read and write, are not adequate conditions for citizenship. No man or woman should ever be permitted to touch the sacred soul of American institutions with the power of his vote until his own soul has been joined to ours by a common possession of the ideals from which our institutions have sprung.

Asiatics, one here and one there, may feel this new

ideal, but the masses do not. And it will depend upon Asiatics alone as to how long they will be in transforming their institutions and their lives to correspond with ours. They may not—and perhaps should not ever desire to do so. Until they do so, they are unfitted to become American citizens. When they do so, they will not need to become such, for they will have in their own lands every advantage they seek in ours.

I deny the Japanese the rights of citizenship, because of the inherent differences in their modes of thought, which have developed with their civilisation. The Japanese masses are the same to-day as they were before the brief period of the last fifty years began. And the Japanese are fatalists. What is a fatalist? A fatalist is one who believes that from the time he enters life in his cradle until he makes his exit into his grave, every day of that road of life has been fixed for him, long before he was born, by the superior gods, his ancestors. Everything is in the road, the ups and the downs, his pleasures and pains, his wealth and poverty. Now, he must not try to change anything in that road nor ask that anything be changed. To ask that one single thing be changed in that road would insult the superior beings who put it there. All the fatalist does is to take the road, go down it bravely, and make his exist face front. That is why, when an European soldier meets a fatalist on the field of battle, he trembles, for there may be a hundred bayonets or a hundred machine guns in the road, yet he goes right on down the road. That is the way the Japanese took Port Arthur and whipped Russia; and, when they came back, one of them wrote a book about it; and in that book you will find the whole philosophy of Japanese fatalism. He says: "We knew we would win before we started, for what a Japanese once begins he never quits until he dies or wins." That is a fatalist.

Now what do we teach in America? We teach that every day we take the road of life, from the time we are able to say in our cradle "Now I lay me," until we go down at the last and say, as we enter the grave, "Now I lay me," that every morning, as the lilies open to the light, if we will open our hearts to the Almighty, he will that day make in our road the rough places plain, and the crooked straight, be a Guide to our feet and a Lamp into our pathway, and tune us into the rhythm of the whole universe; "For the effectual fervent prayer of a righteous man availeth much."

Now we may take our choice. We may go down that fatalistic road of the non-interference with anything; we may go down that other road of the Providential interference with everything; but we cannot take both, and we cannot take a part of one and a part of the other. Those two concepts cannot live in the human brain at the same time. One extinguishes the other as water extinguishes fire. You cannot have a Christian civilisation based in fatalistic thought.

I deny the Japanese the right of citizenship, because of the fearful sacrifices they ask us to make with it, that is:—freely to marry their young men with our young women. Kawakami says, "Not only should Japanese be granted the rights of American citizenship, but they should be left at liberty to intermarry. What folly, what stupidity, what lack of insight into human nature, is possessed by those solons who would try to put a ban on such unions." That is the challenge which the yellow race makes to the white race of America. That is a race conflict. The full impact of that race conflict will stagger, if it does not prostrate, the white race of the earth. For each instance of such intermarriage is the end of the white stock—that line of it is ended right there and forever; it is the beginning of a mixed stock, "inferior to both parent

stocks both physically and morally, a fact which has been demonstrated on a large scale," and whose progeny show rapid degeneracy.

I deny the Japanese the rights of citizenship, therefore, for all the reasons set forth in the preceding paragraphs and all others which have appeared in the various chapters of this book. I believe, on the part of America, it is the first step toward a rapid dissolution of our nationality and the loss of the soul of our civilisation. I believe that instead of removing the causes of war and setting up conditions of peace, it will greatly aggravate those causes and remove those conditions. The present war in Europe has demonstrated the fact that race mixture is a fundamental cause of war, producing war both through intestine troubles and through the complications with nations without who are kindred of the mixed peoples within. The Moors came out of Africa and went into Spain, and Spain had war for five hundred years, until she entirely vanquished them. The nations now in the Balkan states came out of Asia. For five hundred years they have been causing war in Europe. In the last few years they have caused three, and the present war involves the world. The Turks came out of Asia and settled in Europe. For five hundred years, the white nations of Europe have been unable to Europeanise them, to drive them out, or to keep them at peace. A few Asiatics have now come into the United States, and the interests of the two races are so antagonistic, the race repulsions are so violent, that already the presence of these Asiatics has brought two governments into embarrassment and to a deadlock; already we hear, on account of them, little rumours of war. If you increase their number, thus aggravating and enlarging the irritation, these rumours will develop into the fears of war, and these will be followed by the psychological status of the feverish preparations for war. If history has

taught us anything, it has taught us that if you lay down these fundamental conditions, the result is inevitable. Therefore, I stand for the *status quo*. For the highest development of both the Japanese and ourselves, for the peace of both countries, and of all the world, it is far better that the Japanese should be content with citizenship in their own land, or seek to extend it into the lands where the people have a common racial inheritance and common religious and biological foundations.

All of this, I am well aware, is opposed to those who fight the whole idea of nationality. Out of the overwhelming avalanche of books and papers bearing upon the war, this notion that nationality is wrong is beginning to rise into conspicuous view. Many believe that this war has been caused by over emphasis of the national spirit, and that, therefore, the national spirit must be destroyed. The pacifists say that it is right to be a citizen of a nation and to give allegiance to a nation, but that every man has a greater right and greater allegiance as a citizen of the whole world, and that the road to peace lies over the boundary lines of nations torn down and trampled under foot.

The pacifist here touches boundaries with the extreme Internationalist. I recently had the pleasure of a long discussion with two brilliant representatives of this cult and from their honest souls came their full faith. It is about as follows: A man is a citizen of the world before all other relations. The largest unit we yet know is the unit of the family. Nationality or the spirit of patriotism is the greatest sin of the age. There are no real distinctions of races; the biologies of all are the same. There is a universal feeling throughout all animal life, beginning with the lower animals, and the feeling that exists between two men in friendship is but an extension of the feeling between a man and his dog. The United States must pro-

vide that all men of all races who wish to come [here one of the men demurred] may come; that we have no right to say America belongs to us because we happen to be born in this part of the world, but that the whole world and the United States as a part of it, belongs equally to all men share and share alike.

I met the same theory in a religionist who said to me, "How can you say '*My country*'—Why doesn't it belong just as much to every Japanese and every Chinese? My God, man, aren't we all brethren in Christ?" My answer was silence, and my comfort was that this theory was found in Boston which recently was called by an eminent sociologist "The perpetual source of impossible theory."

While Internationalism may be the ultimate goal of the world centuries hence, it is utterly impracticable as an immediate step, under the present constitution of the world. Patriotism is not a crime. Patriotism is a primal prejudice developed in man by evolutionary process out of hard experience, to hold men together in groups for unit action against aggression. It is a life-preserving instinct,—the universal brotherhood of man is a metaphysical ideal; toward the latter higher nations are tending, but it can not be reached in a single leap by destroying the instinct for group action which comes when some "brother group" which has not this metaphysical ideal, makes its invasion. It matters not whether such invasion be by peaceful purchase or armed advance, whether it be urged by economic motives or religious frenzy, this primal prejudice, patriotism, will rise to repel it. To outlaw this emotion is to end the process of evolution, it is to substitute individual action for group action, and that blocks the way to the very goal we all desire—the ultimate federation of the world into one group for one course of action.

The road toward peace and world federation will not be

built by breaking up all nationalities and mixing all races; but it must be found in a co-operation of peoples who are alike, and the federation of these groups. We are to have equality and fraternity; but each frater must be in his own house and content with being denied his brother's house, wife and children.

Germany co-operated by making one empire out of twenty-five or more. England once had many kings, which she reduced to one; and then her colonies everywhere accepted that one, on a basis of co-operation. The American colonies were thirteen states, now they are one nation with thirty-five more states added to the sisterhood. This all is progress toward mutual co-operation and federation. So Asiatic peoples may federate. The Slavic people should federate. Like races in the Balkans and Russia should co-operate. The Turks should condense into one country. The Indo-Aryan peoples should come together. This federation must be upon a basis of equality, not overlordship. Japan should not subjugate China, as she is beginning to do. When in all of these groups, in the long future, the ideals and souls of the units grow more alike, the units can approach a common understanding in all relations and that will be the final civilisation of the world.

Meantime the crying need of the United States is a return to her original ideals and a renewal, a revival of her national character. The most hopeful indication that America may do this, is found in the sentiments of such men as Dr. Nicholas Murray Butler, who, although he is the author of the phrase *The International Mind*, recently before a very distinguished audience of editors, at a meeting of the Associated Press of America, made a plea for clear cut nationality. He said, "Have we an American nation? If so, is that nation conscious of the unity of purpose and of ideals? If so, what is to be the

policy of that nation in the immediate future? It must not be forgotten that nations are comparatively new in human history. There were no nations in the ancient world. There were no nations until the dream of universal political empire had passed away. It was then and only then that a new organising force made itself felt in the thoughts and deeds of men. In the history of nations the study of our America has a place that is all its own. The American nation came into being in response to a clear and infinite purpose. The moving cause was the aspirations for civil and political liberty and for individual freedom. What do we want to have said about the way in which America met the greatest crisis in the history, in modern times, 1916? Do we want a nation weak, broken to pieces, irresolute, filled with conflict and discordant voices, or do we wish for a nation unified, strong, sympathetic, and ready to respond to the cause of a common purpose to serve all humanity?"

Senator Albert W. Beveridge, of Indiana, recently voiced the same sentiment, "We must build up a national unity and consciousness, as separate and different from that of any other country as Russia is different from Germany, or France is different from both."

Mr. Norman Angell, whose name has been given to the peace movement of England, who is known throughout the world as an advocate of peace and disarmament, in an address before Chautauqua Institution in 1915, made this statement: "It is impossible to amalgamate all the races of the world into one international state, such as many dream about, but it is possible to draft a set of international laws which shall be interpreted by an international court and enforced by an international police power."

That such an end is desirable all will agree, that indications point that way is quite certain. The mistake of

those who attack nationality is made in supposing that any of these peoples will give up any of their distinctive forms, their governments, their ideals, their religion, racial pride, or character. They could not do so if they would. Those things which reside in the souls of people are not transferred by signatures in Hague Conferences. When the twenty-one republics who were represented in the American Institute of International Law agreed upon and signed the Declaration of the Rights and Duties of Nations, they chose this course, the federation of distinct units, not the amalgamation of them. That choice is the most recent and intelligent international action of the world.

It was also the most reasonable and natural action. In a family group, good parents aim to develop the individuality of each child, to accentuate its special aptitudes and to develop differences, not to make all children alike over a common pattern. Those families are greatest and contribute most, one member to another, who recognise that no two members in it are alike or can possibly be made alike, and that every effort to do so weakens the individual and the whole. This is fundamental in the family and the school. It is just as fundamental in the community of nations. National personalities are separated by mighty abysses; they never have in common relatively so much as the children of a single family have in common. And any attempt to make them similar will result in the elimination of the finest elements of all, and will leave the baser elements of physical life, which always persist in cross-breeding where type is destroyed and life reverts to originals.

Those demands which Japan makes from sheer ambition for social position among nations and for economic advantage; her fancied hurts and insults because other nations cannot grant these demands in her own way and

on her own terms, she must learn to forget. The United States has not intended any offence nor withdrawn from her any right ever conferred upon her. We have tried again and again to assure Japan of these facts. We ask only that Japan shall consider the incidents of land legislation as closed, and that we wish to continue our friendly relations as before, maintaining the *status quo*.

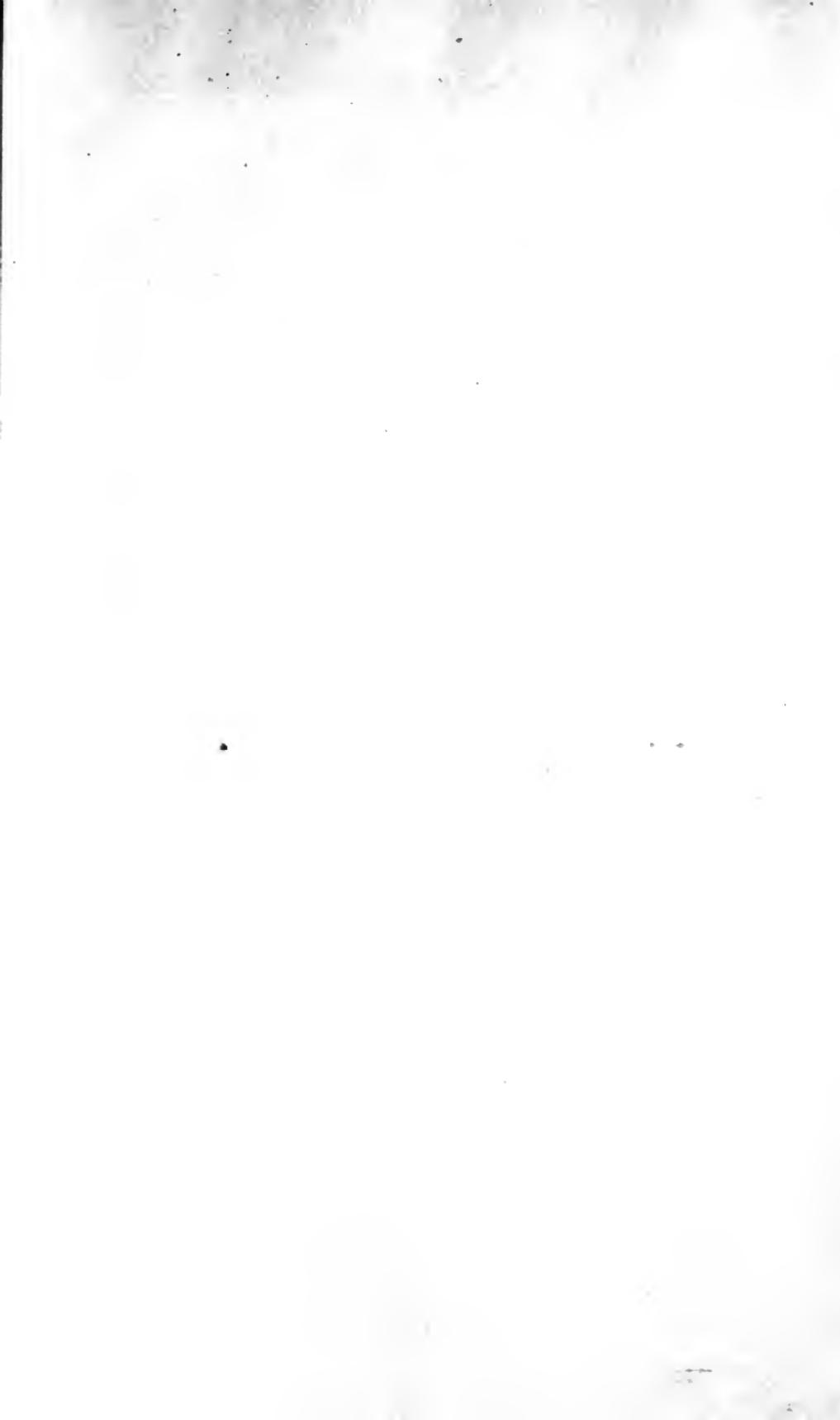
When we take this position, we do not assert our superiority; we only recognise our inherent differences; those differences will remain until time and mutual intercourse change the whole social content of the two civilisations. Should such a time come, the white race would still have the question to decide whether or not it will eliminate its colour and its characteristics by hybridisation with a pigmented race, whose dominant reproductive powers will perpetuate it and will cause the white race to disappear.

But on a basis of mutual respect for the qualities and interests of the other, the two nations can continue to exchange all the products of their racial geniuses, and preserve all those ideals which will insure the salvation of their racial souls.

The following true story I have often told to my son: "Your grandfather commanded a Company of Ohio Infantry at the great battle of Stone River or Murphreesboro in the Civil War. On the second day of that battle his Colonel ordered him to take his Company and the regimental colours to a position on the farther side of the river to meet the oncoming enemy. He drew his sword and gave the command. I myself have stood upon the very spot of the action. They descended the bank, the colours and the colourguard were advancing on his right. They broke the thin ice, waded the shallow river, climbed

the farther side, ran forward, took a position behind a stone fence and immediately went into action. As he did so he saw one of the colour-guard fall dead—shot in the back. He turned round. He saw that a part of his Company had failed to obey the order and were firing from the other side of the River. And he cried, 'Men, if you can't follow the flag for God's sake don't shoot.' "

Fellow-countrymen: Three centuries ago your ancestors and mine crossed the sea to find on American shores a land where their ideals might live. Here a nation was built, here civil liberty was born, here independence was declared and won. A century later their children's children crossed the eastern mountains and rivers to carry those ideals into the great central valleys of the continent. A century after that their children's children with equal hardihood and high aim crossed wider rivers, higher mountains, and the vast desert waste to extend that nation to the Western sea. And there they are to-day—your former neighbours and friends, blood of your blood, flesh of your flesh,—the Colour-guard of the white race on the Western picket line of the nation facing the oncoming of the Orient. If you do not understand our call, if you cannot follow where we lead, oh men, women and sweet children of all our beautiful states, as we stand in defence of that nation and our race—with our faces to the sea—for God's sake don't shoot.



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